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DE AMICITIA.

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M. TULLI CICERONIS LAELIUS DE AMICITIA

EDITED FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

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PREFACE.

THIS edition of the *Laelius* has been prepared on the same general plan as my editions of the speeches of Cicero for Archias and for Balbus published a year since. The special aim of the notes is the thorough examination of the Latinity of the dialogue, but the elucidation of the subject-matter has not been neglected. In arranging the text, I have tried to weigh for myself the evidence affecting every variation, however slight. In a few instances I have found it necessary to adopt emendations of my own. These will all be found duly noticed in an Appendix on the text, which also contains remarks on other textual difficulties which could not conveniently be mentioned in the notes. In the explanatory notes as well as in forming the text, while I have worked out my own views independently, and hope to have been able to contribute something to the explanation of the dialogue, I have also compared my own conclusions with those of the most prominent scholars who have edited or explained the treatise. In particular I have to own my great obligations to the very elaborate edition of Seyffert, on whose foundation every subsequent editor has largely built, and

editors in the future must continue to build. I have compared also my own notes throughout with those contained in the editions by Nauck and Lahmeyer. These editions have proved not nearly so useful as I expected from their very extensive circulation in Germany. My debts to them are acknowledged, each in its proper place, as are also my obligations to Nägelsbach and other writers on the Latin of Cicero. It may be well for me to state that I have no acquaintance with any English edition of the *Laelius*. I only heard of Mr Arthur Sidgwick's edition as forthcoming at a time when my own was far advanced.

I expect to have finished by Easter next my edition of the *Cato maior* (*De Senectute*). At that point my series of editions of Cicero's works must stop for a time, though I hope to add to it in future years.

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Christmas, 1878.

In the present edition a certain number of corrections have been made in the body of the work, while some additional matter is appended in the form of '*addenda*'.

J. S. R.

CAMBRIDGE,
September, 1883.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. *Cicero as a writer on Philosophy.*

It is not necessary to give here any account of the life of Cicero and his labours as a politician and orator, since there are so many sources from which the student may obtain the information[1]. We are only now concerned with Cicero as a man of letters; nor have we to do with his whole literary career, but merely with that portion of it which was devoted to the production of his series of works on philosophy, of which the *Laelius* forms a part[2].

During his early life Cicero had studied with great enthusiasm and success all the learning of the Greeks, particularly in the two departments, then closely connected, or rather scarcely distinguished, of Rhetoric and Philosophy. He not only sought with great avidity the society of learned Greeks at Rome, but spent a considerable time in study at Rhodes and at Athens, which had become not merely the 'school of Greece' as Thucydides makes Pericles call her, but the school of the civilized world. During the whole of an exceptionally busy public life, Cicero devoted all his spare moments to reading and to the society of the learned. After his exile in 58 and 57 B.C. his part in politics, except for a brief period before his death, was played, and it is at this time that his great period of literary activity begins. In 55 he produced the work *De oratore*, in 54 the

[1] The most attractive biography of Cicero in English is that by Mr Forsyth.

[2] To judge rightly of Cicero, it must be remembered that he was a politician only by accident; his entire natural bent was towards literature. See the Introduction to my edition of the Academica.

De re publica (the characters in which are nearly all mentioned in the *Laelius*), in 52 the *De legibus*, all three works on a large scale, and entitled to rank as philosophical, according to ancient ideas[1]. All of them shew his continued acquaintance with the discussions current in his time of problems which would now be recognised as belonging to philosophy.

From 51 to 46 B.C. owing first to his absence in Cilicia, then to the civil troubles, Cicero almost ceased to write. But in the latter year he was reconciled with Caesar, and as the senate and law courts were closed against him on his refusal to compromise his political principles, he betook himself with greater devotion than ever to literature. He began to carry out a great plan for interpreting the best philosophical writings of the Greeks to his cultivated fellow-countrymen. Idleness he felt to be absolutely unendurable and it seemed to him that he could do his country no better service than by conferring on it a philosophical literature of its own. Hitherto those Romans who had studied philosophy at all had studied it in Greek. The only Latin philosophical literature was Epicurean, and putting aside the poem of Lucretius, which had scarcely then become famous, consisted entirely of books rudely written, which had however attained a large circulation[2].

Cicero made no claim to originality as a philosopher, or even to an entire and complete acquaintance with every detail of the Greek systems[3]. His usual plan was to take one or two leading Greek works on the subject with which he was dealing, and to represent freely in his own language their subject-matter, introducing episodes and illustrations of his own. We shall presently see how this general plan was carried out in the case of the *Laelius*.

The first work written in 46 was the *Hortensius*, or *De philosophia*, now lost. It was founded on a lost dialogue of Aristotle, and set forth the advantages of studying philosophy. During

[1] Almost every branch of learning was ranked under the head of philosophy. Strabo claimed that one branch of philosophy was geography.

[2] Academica, Introd. pp. xxvi—xxix.

[3] Cf. Off. 1, 2 *philosophandi scientiam concedens multis*, etc.

the same year Cicero completed several oratorical works, all extant, the *Partitiones oratoriae*, the *Brutus* or *De claris oratoribus*, and the *Orator*.

In the beginning of 45 Cicero lost his beloved daughter Tullia. He passed the whole year in retirement, trying to soothe his grief by incessant writing. In quick succession came the *De consolatione*, an attempt to apply philosophy to the mitigation of his own sorrow and that of others; the *Academica*, an exposition of the New Academic philosophy, advocating probability as the foundation of philosophy rather than certainty; the *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, a work criticising the chief views entertained concerning ethics; the *Disputationes Tusculanae*, treating of certain conditions necessary to happiness and morality; the *De natura deorum*, a work whose contents are sufficiently indicated by its title; the *De divinatione*, a discussion of the question whether the gods communicate with mankind by augury and the like; the *Cato maior* or *De senectute;* the *Laelius* or *De amicitia;* the *De fato*, discussing Fate and Free Will; the *Paradoxa*, in which certain paradoxical opinions of the Stoics were set forth; the *De officiis*, a work on the practical application of moral principles to ordinary life. All these works are still extant, and were written almost entirely in the years 45 and 44. To the list must be added other works, of a rhetorical nature, such as the *Topica* and the *De optimo genere dicendi*, and some lost philosophical books, such as that *De gloria*.

The mental vigour and literary power exhibited by this series of works appears prodigious, when we consider their immense compass and variety and the generally high finish of their style, even though allowance be made for the fact that Cicero was giving in Latin the substance of Greek books with which he had been familiar from boyhood. In Cicero's Latin has lived a large portion of the post-Aristotelian philosophy, which was doomed to oblivion in the original Greek.

It is necessary, before we leave the general subject of Cicero's philosophical works, to state very briefly his philosophical views. Cicero called himself an adherent of the New Academy. It

must be clearly understood, however, that the New Academy taught no complete philosophical system. It simply proclaimed the view that in the field of knowledge certainty is unattainable, and that all the inquirer has to do is to balance probabilities against each other. The New Academic therefore was free to accept any opinions which seemed to him to have probabilities on their side, but he was bound to be ready to abandon them when anything came before him which would alter his view of the probabilities. The New Academic, then, not only might be, but could not help being *eclectic*, that is he chose such views propounded by other schools as seemed to him to be most reasonable or probable at the moment. The three principal systems in Cicero's time were the Stoic, the Peripatetic and the Epicurean. With the last of these, whose supporters advocated in ethics the pursuit of pleasure, in science the doctrine of the atoms, in religion the complete inactivity of the gods, Cicero had absolutely no sympathy. In his time the other two schools, the Stoic and Peripatetic, were divided by comparatively unimportant differences. As regards ethics (in the eye of the ancients almost the whole of philosophy, which itself was defined as 'the art of living') the main question between the two schools was the amount of importance to be attributed to Virtue, the Stoics declaring that in comparison with Virtue, all other things sank into absolute insignificance, while the Peripatetics declared that they had a certain though infinitesimally small significance. Cicero generally takes the Peripatetic view, though with many leanings towards some of the details of the Stoic ethical system. The Stoic opinion that it was the duty of the wise man to abstain from public life, which the Peripatetics contested, Cicero decisively rejected.

§ 2. *The scope of the Laelius.*

Our dialogue belongs to the *ethical* works of Cicero. The *De finibus* contains Cicero's view of the *principles* of morality, while the other ethical writings are concerned with the practical applications of those principles. The consideration of Friendship, to which the *Laelius* is devoted, occupied a large space in

ancient moral systems, though the topic is very little elaborated by modern philosophers. Particularly in post-Platonic times, when the freedom of Greek political life was extinguished, and men of culture had to find private outlets for their energy, was Friendship brought into prominence. Numerous treatises were specially devoted to it[1]. A separate dialogue was given to it by Plato, viz. the *Lysis*, and two whole books of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (VIII. and IX.) by Aristotle. In the *Laelius*, however, the range of questions discussed is far narrower than was commonly the case with the Greek philosophers who wrote on the subject. The Greek *φιλία* included every form of association, even the relations of man to man, of citizen to citizen, of purchaser to buyer, and the like. Cicero, however, uses *amicitia* in a sense which is almost exactly that of the English '*friendship*.' Nor does our author attempt that exhaustive discussion of all questions which had been raised or might be raised, touching Friendship in this narrower sense, which we find in the two above-mentioned books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The *practice* of friendship is discussed almost to the exclusion of its *theory*. Cicero's treatise is indeed a kind of popular essay dealing with those aspects of the subject which could best be made interesting to readers in general. He again and again during the course of the dialogue emphasizes the practical character of the treatise. Indeed to have made it highly speculative would have ill suited the characters of the interlocutors.

§ 3. *The structure, personages, and other circumstances of the dialogue.*

a. Greek sources of the treatise. We have a statement by A. Gellius (lived about 115—165 A.D.) in his *Noctes Atticae* (I, 3, 10) that Cicero imitated in the *Laelius* a book of Theophrastus, entitled *περὶ φιλίας*, which seems to have been the most famous of the many treatises on the subject. The imitation was, on the showing of Gellius, exceedingly free. Theophrastus gave his own views and wrote for philosophers; Cicero wrote for general readers and put his statements into the mouth of

[1] Merely taking the catalogues in Diogenes Laertius we find separate works on the subject by Crito, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Aristotle, Cleanthes.

Laelius, who as a distinguished Roman general and statesman, could not be allowed to go too deeply into philosophical questions. Besides this imitation of Theophrastus, one or two direct imitations occur of a discourse of Socrates on friendship recorded by Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (2, 4—10)[1]. Further, there is a slight reference in the prooemium to the *Theaetetus* of Plato[2]. Beyond this no distinct adaptation of Greek originals can be traced. It is extremely doubtful, or perhaps more than doubtful, whether Cicero used in this treatise the *Nicomachean Ethics*, though he knew of its existence[3], and had perhaps, at some time, read it. Several resemblances between that work and portions of the *Laelius* can be accounted for by the fact that many of Aristotle's ethical utterances had passed into commonplaces. It is exceedingly likely that Cicero knew Plato's *Lysis*, but I am unable to point out any distinct imitation of it[4]. No doubt Cicero read and used here and there other Greek treatises on Friendship, which we do not now possess. In § 45 Cicero adapts some lines of Euripides which Plutarch says were commented on by Chrysippus in his work περὶ φιλίας, but the verses were so notorious that there is no reason to suspect imitation.

b. The title. The main title is put beyond doubt by Cicero's own words in the *De officiis* 2, 31 *sed de amicitia alio libro dictum est qui inscribitur Laelius*[5]. There are reasons, however, for supposing that the author intended it also to bear the secondary title *De amicitia;* see the passage in *Laelius* 5 *ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia*. So the book described in *De divinatione* 2, 3 as *liber quem ad Atticum de senectute misimus*

[1] See my n. on § 62.

[2] See my n. on § 3, p. 28, l. 1. It is commonly but erroneously said that Cicero knew nothing of the Theaetetus (e.g. by Orelli, *Onomasticon Tullianum*, s.v. *Tullius*). The same is said of the Philebus, to which I find a plain allusion in De finibus 1, 5.

[3] See De finibus 5, 12.

[4] It would be worth while for some young University scholar to work out thoroughly the question whether the resemblances between the Laelius, Lysis and Nicomachean Ethics prove direct imitation.

[5] I do not allow that the last three words are spurious, though Halm and others assert them to be so.

is called in *De officiis* 1, 151 and in *Ad Atticum* 14, 21, 3 *Cato maior*. So the MSS give to the *Brutus* (thus called by Cicero in *De divinatione* 2, 3) the second title *De claris oratoribus*. Such double titles were not uncommon. They are frequently found in ancient citations of Plato's works and in MSS; e.g. Φίληβος, περὶ τἀγαθοῦ. Varro also wrote a great number of books (called *libri logistorici*) which took their first titles from the names of persons, their second titles from their subject-matter[1]. We may fairly conclude then that the proper complete title of our dialogue is *Laelius de amicitia*.

c. Time of writing. This has been implicitly given above in the general account of Cicero's philosophical works. It is clear from *De divinatione* 2, 3 that when that work appeared, the *Laelius* had not yet been written, while the *Cato maior* had already been published. In the *De officiis* (which had not been mentioned in the passage of *De divinatione* above referred to) there is a reference to the *Laelius*. The *Cato maior* was written in the spring of 44 B.C. soon after Caesar's death, and the *De officiis* was completed in November of the same year[2]. As Cicero was travelling during July and August, while September and October were occupied by the *De officiis*, and probably April and May by the *De divinatione*, we shall not greatly err if we suppose the *Laelius* to have been composed in June of the year 44 B.C. It was a gloomy time for Cicero for many reasons, but particularly because the high hopes concerning politics which he entertained on Caesar's death were already shattered. The circumstances of the time are to a great extent reflected in the tone of the dialogue.

d. The form of the dialogue. In general, Cicero followed in his philosophical works the plan of Aristotle's dialogues, now lost, rather than that of the dialogues of Plato. In the former there was more of *exposition* and less of *discussion* than in the latter; one person stated his views on some question, and the company in attendance only made occasional remarks, without attempting to debate the question. In nearly all Plato's dia-

[1] See Ritschl, *die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro*, in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1848, p. 501 sq.

[2] Ad Att. 15, 13 b, 2 and 16, 11, 4.

logues one person, Socrates, is overwhelmingly prominent, but he constantly endeavours to drag the other personages into the discussion. Cicero, in most of his philosophical works (the *Tusculan Disputations* forms an exception more apparent than real) avoids the quick interchange of question and answer which is characteristic of Plato. Aristotle's dialogues[1] were more *popular* too than those of Plato, and therefore suited Cicero's purpose better; moreover, the style of Aristotle had been imitated by many writers, Theophrastus and others, down to Cicero's time, while the Platonic style had hardly met with any imitators.

e. The interlocutors in the dialogue. The chief speaker is GAIUS LAELIUS, the friend of the younger Africanus (not to be confounded with his father C. Laelius, the friend of the elder Africanus). This distinguished statesman, soldier, and man of letters was born about 186 B.C., was plebeian tribune in 151 (see below, p. 15, n. 5); performed heroic exploits as an officer of Scipio in the Third Punic War; was praetor in 145[2], and commanded an army against Viriathus with success; in 141 failed as a candidate for the consulship, though supported by Scipio[3], but in 140 succeeded. He also held the office of augur[4]. During the greater part of his life he was a strong supporter of the aristocratic party, and towards the end of it stoutly opposed the schemes of Ti. Gracchus and those of his partisans after his death[5].

Laelius was not only one of the greatest patrons of literature Rome ever saw, but was himself a man of high culture, and great ability as a speaker and writer. He was widely read in philosophy, particularly the Stoic. His Latin style was so good that the plays of his friend Terence, admired for the purity of their Latinity, were by many ascribed in whole or in part to him[6]. Some of his speeches were extant in Cicero's time, and were, on the whole, admired by him[7].

[1] On the whole subject of Aristotle's dialogues see Bernays' well-known monograph, *die Dialoge des Aristoteles*.

[2] See n. on Lael. 96.

[3] Lael. 77, 96. *etc.*

[4] Lael. 7; Phil. 2, 83.

[5] Lael. 36—39.

[6] Ad Atticum 7, 3. 10.

[7] Cicero speaks of one speech

Cicero everywhere speaks in the most eulogistic terms of Laelius' character. All authorities were unanimous as to his unswerving rectitude[1]. His self-control and moderation were remarkable[2]. Like Socrates, he never shewed in his face throughout life the effect produced on his mind by changes of fortune[3]. His gentleness and affability were great[4]. His cheerfulness and humour were famous[5].

During his life and after his death Laelius bore the title *sapiens* or 'the wise[6],' a title which implies more of practical than intellectual wisdom, though it would not have been given to any one who was destitute of culture and literary excellence. Altogether Laelius is Cicero's typical example of the best results of cultivation acting on a character which exhibited in their fullest extent the ideal Roman virtues. He is introduced as an interlocutor into two other dialogues, the *Cato maior* (*De senectute*) and the *De re publica* (along with Scipio, Fannius, and Scaevola).

The friendship of Laelius and Scipio was one of the most famous in antiquity. Laelius, says Cicero, reverenced Scipio as a god; Scipio looked up to Laelius (his senior) as a parent[7]. The views of friendship which Laelius gives in the dialogue are said by him to be mainly those of Scipio.

The other interlocutors are the two sons-in-law of Laelius, Q Mucius Scaevola[8] and Gaius Fannius. Scaevola belonged to a family of lawyers[9], and was himself exceedingly distinguished for his knowledge of the law. He was born about 157 and

as *aureola oratiuncula* (N. D. 3, 43) though of another as *vetustior et horridior* (Brut. 83).

[1] Cic. Topica 78; Lael. *passim*.

[2] Arch. 16.

[3] Off. 1, 90.

[4] Mur. 66; cf. Horace's *mitis sapientia Laeli*.

[5] Off. 1, 108; De Or. 2, 22.

[6] In addition to the passages in the Laelius, cf. Off. 2, 40 *Laelius is qui sapiens usurpatur*, also Brut. 213; Tusc. 4, 5. Plutarch, life of Ti. Gracchus c. 8, has the unlikely story that the title *sapiens* was given to Laelius, because having proposed an agrarian law while tribune in 151 he had the good sense to withdraw it in order to prevent civil discord.

[7] De re publica 1, 18.

[8] *augur* not *pontifex*; see n. on § 1.

[9] De Or. 1, 39 *iura civilia in nostra* (*Scaevolarum*) *familia diu versata sunt*.

lived till 88 B.C. In 121 he was praetor, after which he was governor of Asia. On his return a malicious prosecution was set on foot against him on a charge of malversation (*repetundarum*), but on this he was acquitted. Soon afterwards he was elected consul for the year 117. He seems to have had but little of political ambition, though owing to his high character and his freedom from partisanship he exercised in the senate and in private a great political influence. His house was daily thronged by the leading men of Rome[1].

The wit as well as the learning of Scaevola was renowned[2], and he was noted for sweetness and affability of demeanour[3]. Cicero, who was in early life placed under his guardianship, along with Atticus, always speaks of him with great affection and admiration. Scaevola appears also as one of the interlocutors in the *De oratore* and in the *De re publica* (along with Scipio and Laelius).

Gaius Fannius served with distinction under Scipio in the Third Punic War. He and Tiberius Gracchus were the first to mount the walls of Carthage when it was stormed. He served again in Spain, but seems not to have been successful in political life. He was a man of considerable cultivation and literary activity, and wrote a history, the style of which is very faintly praised by Cicero though its accuracy was highly estimated by Sallust. His character seems to have been somewhat severe[4]. He appears with Scipio and Laelius and Scaevola as one of the interlocutors in the *De re publica*.

f. The Scipionic circle. The age of the younger Africanus was remarkable for the rapid spread of Hellenism among the educated Romans. Scipio formed the centre of a great and influential circle composed partly of Roman admirers of Greek art and literature, partly of Greek and Latin men of letters. Hellenism had been powerful for many generations in Latin literature and in social life, but in the Hellenism of the Scipionic circle not only were old tendencies quickened, but a new and

[1] De Or. 1, 200; Phil. 8, 31.
[2] Att. 4, 16, 3.
[3] De Or. 1, 234.
[4] Brut. 101, where Cicero speaks of a coolness between Fannius and Laelius.

important influence was added, that of the Greek philosophy. Although the wisdom of the Greeks was known in part to the Romans at a much earlier time its practical power over them dates from the famous Athenian embassy of 153 B.C. composed of the three great philosophers Carneades the Academic, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic. After this time all the Greek systems struck root at Rome, but by far the greatest influence was exerted by Stoicism, of which nearly all the members of Scipio's society had a more or less strong tincture. Thus Scipio himself was devoted to the society of the Stoic philosopher Panaetius; Laelius had learned Stoicism both from Panaetius and Diogenes. There are many tinges of Stoicism traceable in our dialogue. These noble Romans, however, adopted the Stoic philosophy more on account of its utility in supplying a foundation for theories of law and government than as a form of faith. The Stoicism they professed was also a Stoicism deprived of its paradoxes and specially adapted to Roman tastes. In this form it ultimately exercised a profound influence on the national life of Rome.

Though the prevalent bent of the Scipionic circle was towards Stoicism, it was far from rejecting the society of those who adhered to other systems. Thus Clitomachus, the New Academic, was the friend of many Romans of high station in his time.

On the literary side the circle of Scipio and Laelius was strong. To it belonged Polybius, the great historian, Lucilius the satirist, and the dramatists Terence and Pacuvius, with many others scarcely less distinguished.

We cannot here give any detailed account of the persons who formed this brilliant society, but must confine ourselves to such information as is necessary to illustrate the *Laelius*. In § 11 of the dialogue we have some of the chief events of SCIPIO'S life indicated. Born in 185 B.C., the son of L. Aemilius Paullus the conqueror of Macedonia, he became the adopted son of the son of the elder Africanus, just before the outbreak of the Third Punic War. His services in a subordinate position in that war, as well as in previous wars, produced such a conviction of his

ability, that in 148, when he was only a candidate for the aedileship, the laws were suspended in order to elect him consul and place him in command of the army before Carthage. At the end of his year of office his command was prolonged for another year, during the course of which he took Carthage and reduced Africa to the condition of a Roman province. In 142 he was censor, and in 134, though not a candidate, was elected to the consulship and put in command of the Roman army then besieging the city of Numantia in Spain. The war of which this siege formed a part had been going on for some years most disastrously for the Romans, but Scipio speedily brought it to a conclusion in 133 B.C. While before Numantia he received the news of the murder of Ti. Gracchus, whose sister he had married and whose cousin he had become by adoption, but whose policy he had on the whole opposed, though he had occasionally coquetted with the democrats. He merely quoted the Homeric line ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι, 'so may e'en another perish, whoso dares such deeds as he.' On his return to Rome Scipio strongly resisted the democratic proposals of Carbo and the other leaders of the party of the Gracchi. In 129 B.C. a most violent scene occurred in the senate between him and Carbo in consequence of a proposal made by Scipio which was intended to render the execution of the great agrarian law of Ti. Gracchus impracticable. At the end of the sitting he was escorted triumphantly home by a crowd mainly composed of Latins and Italians, whose properties were threatened by the law. In the morning he was found dead in his room. Opinion in Rome was at the time and remained divided as to the cause of his death. In the *Laelius* the death is assumed to have been from natural causes[1]. Elsewhere however Cicero adopts the views of many of Scipio's friends that Carbo murdered him[2]. Carbo afterwards lent colour to the suspicions by putting himself to death, in order, as was supposed, to avoid a direct prosecution. Even Gaius Gracchus was in ancient times suspected of having thus avenged his

[1] For the interpretation of § 41 see my n. there.

[2] De Or. 2, 170; Fam. 9, 21, 3; Qu. Fr. 2, 3, 3.

brother's death, but no modern scholar of any rank has countenanced the suspicion.

I proceed to speak of some other friends of Scipio who are mentioned in our dialogue. Chief of these is L. Furius Philus[1], consul of the year 136, a man of great knowledge, and high character, and a friend and patron of Greek literati. He is thought worthy by Cicero to rank beside Cato and Laelius[2], and is one of the interlocutors in the *De re publica*.

P. Rupilius was consul in 132 and exercised great severity against the partisans of Ti. Gracchus. His consulship is said to have been due to the aid of Scipio[3]. He commanded in Sicily against the insurgent slaves and established a code of laws for the administration of that province.

M'. Manilius[4], consul in 149, commanded in Africa for some time against the Carthaginians with Scipio as one of his officers. He was a very eminent lawyer, and a close friend of Laelius and Scipio, appearing in the *De re publica* along with them.

Spurius Mummius[5] seems to have been a very different man from his brother the destroyer of Corinth. He had both wit and literary ability, which recommended him to the very intimate friendship of Scipio, with whom he is joined in Cicero's *De re publica*. When, to secure Scipio's safety, the senate dispatched him on an embassy to Asia, Mummius was his companion. Mummius spent some time in Achaia as *legatus* to his brother and thence sent witty epistles in verse to his friends at home[6]. Apparently he was unpopular and unsuccessful as a politician and devoted himself to study, becoming a strong Stoic. We hear of him that he was particularly noted for his detestation of the teachers of Rhetoric.

[1] §§ 14, 21, 69. 101.
[2] Leg. agr. 2, 64 *Phili Catones Laelii.*
[3] Lael. §§ 63, 101.
[4] Lael. § 14.
[5] §§ 69, 101.
[6] Att. 13, 6, 4.

§ 4. *Summary of the dialogue.*

A. Chap. I. Dedication to Atticus.
B. „ II.—IV. Prelude to the dialogue.
C. Chap. V.—XXVI. Discourse of Laelius.
D. „ XXVII. Epilogue.

A. § 1. Cicero's acquaintance with the Scaevolae. § 2. Scaevola, the augur, happened to speak one day of a notorious quarrel between two quondam friends, P. Sulpicius Rufus and Q. Pompeius. [Sulpicius was originally on the aristocratic side, but being plebeian tribune in 88 B.C., he became a tool of Marius and proposed some revolutionary laws. His former friend Pompeius was consul, and vigorously opposed him. In a fight, the son of Pompeius was slain; after which Sulla entered the city with an army and Sulpicius was killed.] § 3. This led Scaevola to report a conversation concerning friendship which Laelius had held with his two sons-in-law, Scaevola himself and Fannius. This conversation Cicero has freely rendered. § 4. The work is done at the request of Atticus, and is now presented to him, as the *Cato maior* had been. Cato was the most suitable Roman to speak of old age; and Laelius, whose intimacy with Scipio was far-famed, to speak of friendship. § 5. The whole speech of Laelius will remind Atticus of his own characteristics as a friend. The conversation takes place a few days after the death of Africanus the younger (129 B.C.).

B. §§ 6, 7. *Fannius.* 'All men are asking how you, Laelius, whom men call *wise* by a better title than that of Cato, bear the death of your friend. It was remarked that you missed the meeting of the augurs lately.'

§§ 8—10. *Scaevola.* 'I have told inquirers that your health, and not your sorrow, prevented you from attending.'

Laelius. 'Right; no private reason must ever withdraw a consistent man from his duty. You are wrong, Fannius, about Cato. If ever any man deserved the title *wise*, he did.'

§§ 10—12. 'I am indeed touched by Scipio's death, but the sting is removed by the thought that I only, not Scipio, am the sufferer. His life was splendid, his death was happily speedy;

he closed his days in a blaze of glory. §§ 13—15. In spite of new-fangled philosophies, I believe, with our forefathers and with Socrates, that the soul lives after death. Scipio believed so too, and as though he felt death coming, treated of the matter at the end of a three days' discourse on the best form of government, which he held a few days before he died. He then recited a communication he had received in a dream from the elder Africanus. [The *Somnium Scipionis* formed the greater part of the VIth book of Cicero's work *De re publica*, and has come down to us entire. Early in this century Cardinal Mai discovered a manuscript containing considerable portions of the remainder of the work. Cicero intended the book to give a picture of the ideal statesman in the person of Scipio.] Even if death extinguishes the soul, it does no harm. It is therefore well with Scipio, however it be. My life has been happy because I lived it with Scipio, and I care more for the memory of our friendship to remain for all time, than I do for my name *sapiens* to which I have no just claim.'

§ 16. *Fannius.* 'Both Scaevola and myself would be delighted if you would tell us what you think of the nature of friendship and what maxims you lay down for its regulation.'

C. The discourse of Laelius may be divided into five portions.

1. §§ 17—25. Preliminary.
2. §§ 26—32. Love the only basis of true friendship.
3. §§ 33—35. Dangers that beset friendship.
4. §§ 36—76. The *amicitiae sapientium.*
5. §§ 76—100. The *volgares amicitiae,*

C. 1. Laelius complies with the request of his sons-in-law but says less than they expected and desired.

Laelius. § 17. 'I am no Greek philosopher; therefore scarce equal to the serious task you impose. I can only give you a practical exhortation to value friendship above all human possessions. §§ 18, 19. Friendship is only possible between *good men.* I use the term in its popular sense, not in its Stoic sense. Men of high morality I call good.—There are various grades in association, as between citizens and citizens, citizens

and foreigners, relatives and strangers. Friendship is a stronger thing than natural association. § 20, 21. It means entire agreement coupled with kindliness and affection, and is the most glorious gift of the gods, though some misguided men prefer riches, pleasure, and the like. Virtue in the ordinary, not the Stoic sense, is the essential condition of friendship. §§ 22—24. The splendour of friendship almost passes description; in particular, it never allows hope to die. All life depends on friendship; Empedocles even says it is the bond of the universe. Even the vulgar do homage to it as exemplified in the persons of Orestes and Pylades on the stage.'

'Now I have said all I can, for the rest you must go to the Greeks.'

§ 25. Fannius and Scaevola insist on a further exposition.

C. 2. *Laelius.* § 26. 'What is the foundation of friendship? Nature, not utility. § 27. The inclination to affection appears in the lower animals, and is especially conspicuous in man, when between two individuals there is compatibility of disposition and virtue draws them together. §§ 28—30. Virtue can even attract us in an enemy; how much more in the men we know and meet? Reciprocal services strengthen affection but do not originate it. Africanus, for example, could have done without my services. § 31. Friendship is not based on the hope of reward. § 32. The philosophers who deduce everything from the desire for pleasure are wrong. True friendships are eternal, which they would not be if they sprang from so shifting a thing as utility.'

C. 3. § 33. 'Scipio said that it was very hard for a friendship to last a lifetime, owing to the arising of differences of opinion, or a change of disposition.' §§ 34, 35. Enumeration of occurrences which may break friendship.

C. 4. §§ 36—76. This part of the discourse may be thus subdivided:

- *a.* §§ 36—44. The question how far a friend is to go in helping his friend.
- *β.* §§ 45—55. Polemic against some false statements of the Greeks.

γ. §§ 56—61. How to define the right attitude of mind towards a friend.

δ. §§ 62—66. Care necessary in choosing friends.

ε. §§ 67, 68. Are old friends to be preferred to new?

ζ. §§ 69—76. Perfect equality is necessary in friendship.

C. 4. α. § 36. 'How far is one to go with one's friend? Were the friends of Coriolanus, Vecellinus, Maelius, bound to go all lengths with them? § 37. Blossius was prepared to burn the Capitol had Ti. Gracchus commanded it; it is, however, never justifiable to commit crime for the sake of a friend. § 38. Had we to do with ideal characters the difficulty would not arise, but we have to do with actual men. § 39. The best Romans have always placed patriotism before friendship. § 40. Friends must neither ask from each other nor do for each other anything base. In these degenerate days many politicians contradict this rule. § 41. We must look for still worse things in the future. §§ 42, 43. When a friend takes to an unpatriotic course he ought to be abandoned; if this were done, revolutions would be impossible. § 44. Our first law for friendship is that honour must govern it, and that the authority of friends in admonition and expostulation should meet with due recognition.'

C. 4. β. § 45. 'Some Greeks say that friendships should not be too close lest they lead into trouble and anxiety. § 46. Others declare that friendship is only sought after for the sake of assistance and freedom from care. § 47. These theories destroy friendship, since pain as well as pleasure is inseparable from it. § 48. Those who try to free themselves from all emotion aim at an absurdity. §§ 49—51. Utility has its place in friendship, but nature is the foundation. §§ 52—55. These Greek speculators must be discountenanced; who would choose to abound with prosperity if deprived of friends? That would be the life of a despot, the most miserable of all lives. It is folly to desire all possessions excepting the most valuable—a friend.'

C. 4. γ. §§ 56—61. Three false definitions of friendly feeling are criticised and rejected; Laelius then promises to give

his own, but first quotes Scipio's condemnation of a saying attributed to Bias, that in loving a friend one ought to keep in view the possibility of hating him some day or other. Then he gives his definition of the proper attitude of friend to friend. 'If friends are of high character, they should have all things in common; if one swerves from rectitude and endangers his life or reputation, the other should support him, if he can do so without incurring extreme disgrace.'

C. 4. δ. § 62. 'Men are utterly careless in choosing friends. § 63. It is wise not to confer friendship without some experience and trial of the persons on whom it is to be conferred. The mark of a true friend is that he prefers friendship to all else in the world. § 64. Ambition is the greatest test; change of fortune the next. §§ 65, 66. One must look for loyalty above all things, then frankness, affability and compatibility, and unsuspiciousness; then sweetness of character and conversation.'

C. 4. ε. §§ 67, 68. 'The older a friendship is, the more valuable it is, yet new and promising friendships are not to be rejected.'

C. 4. ζ. §§ 69, 70. 'The man of superior station or advantages of whatever kind must treat his friends as equals. §§ 71, 72. The friend who is at a disadvantage must be careful not to bear himself as an inferior. § 73. In imparting advantages to a friend, you must look both to your own powers and to the character and position of your friend. § 74. The friendships we most value are those formed in mature life; we are not bound to give the first place to the friends of our boyhood, though they must not be neglected. § 75. We must not allow any violence of temper to prevent a friend from imparting to us a benefit.'

C. 5. § 76. 'In friendships of the commoner order, the faults of one sometimes bring disgrace on the other. Such friendships must be gently severed. §§ 77, 78. If a disagreement of views developes itself, we must avoid allowing the friendship to change into open enmity. § 78. To escape these mishaps we must be extremely cautious in entering on friendships. §§ 79, 80. Men by looking first for advantage, miss the true friend. § 81. Even the beasts might teach us that this is wrong. § 82. Friendship

must rest on similarity; the theory that friends should supplement each other's defects is mistaken. §§ 83—85. Looking to virtue chiefly, you must judge the friend's character before you begin to love him, not after. § 86. The prevalent carelessness in choosing friends is the more remarkable, because friendship is the one thing on whose value all men are agreed. §§ 87—89. It is indeed a necessity of existence; yet we do not allow this natural law its full force. §§ 89, 90. We must be able to hear and tell the truth without offence. §§ 91—94. Flattery is the curse of friendship. § 95. The true friend may be known from the flatterer with a little care.' § 96. Historical examples. §§ 97—100. 'Flattery has only power over him who has an appetite for it; open flattery is not so dangerous as that which is masked.'

D. § 100. 'To sum up, virtue is the only origin and bond of friendship. § 101. It is this which has attracted me to my friends throughout life, to you young men as well as others. § 102. It would be well if friends could begin life and end life together, but such are the chances of our mortal state that we must ever be forming new friendships. §§ 103, 104. My perfect intimacy with Scipio has been the greatest blessing of my life. I end by exhorting you to value virtue above everything else, and friendship next.'

M. TULLI CICERONIS

LAELIUS

DE AMICITIA.

I. Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio 1
socero suo memoriter et iucunde solebat nec dubitare illum
in omni sermone appellare sapientem. Ego autem a patre
ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad
possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem.
Itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter
et commode dicta memoriae mandabam, fierique studebam
eius prudentia doctior. Quo mortuo me ad pontificem
Scaevolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio
et iustitia praestantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias,
nunc redeo ad augurem. Cum saepe multa, tum memini 2
domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, cum et ego essem
una et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum
incidere, qui tum fere multis erat in ore. Meministi enim
profecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare mul-
tum, cum is tribunus plebis capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui
tum erat consul, dissideret, quocum coniunctissime et aman-
tissime vixerat, quanta esset hominum vel admiratio vel
querella. Itaque tum Scaevola, cum in eam ipsam mentio- 3
nem incidisset, exposuit nobis sermonem Laeli de amicitia
habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genero C. Fannio, Marci
filio, paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Eius disputationis

sententias memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitratu meo: quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentis, ne 'inquam' et 'inquit' saepius interponeretur atque ut tamquam a prae-
4 sentibus coram haberi sermo videretur. Cum enim saepe mecum ageres, ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res cum omnium cognitione tum nostra familiaritate visa est; itaque feci non invitus ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. Sed ut in Catone maiore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam eius, qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset; sic, cum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laeli et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laeli persona visa est quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret, quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis. Itaque ipse mea legens sic afficior interdum, ut
5 Catonem, non me, loqui existimem. Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior: nunc Laelius et sapiens, sic enim est habitus, et amicitiae gloria excellens de amicitia loquetur. Tu velim a me animum parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani: ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cuius tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens te ipse cognosces.

6 II. Fannius. Sunt ista, Laeli, nec enim melior vir fuit Africano quisquam nec clarior. Sed existimare debes omnium oculos in te esse coniectos unum; te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni, scimus L. Acilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem,

sed uterque alio quodam modo, Acilius quia prudens esse in iure civili putabatur, Cato quia multarum rerum usum habebat et multa eius et in senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur, propterea quasi cognomen iam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te autem alio quodam modo non solum natura et moribus, 7 verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut volgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in Graecia reliqua neminem—nam qui septem appellantur, eos qui ista subtilius quaerunt in numero sapientum non habent —Athenis unum accepimus et eum quidem etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum: hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scaevola, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis quod proximis Nonis, cum in hortos D. Bruti auguris commentandi causa, ut assolet, venissemus, tu non affuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire.

SCAEVOLA. Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multum, ut est a 8 Fannio dictum, sed ego id respondeo, quod animum adverti, te dolorem quem acceperis cum summi viri tum amicissimi morte ferre moderate; nec potuisse non commoveri, nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae: quod autem Nonis in collegio nostro non affuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non maestitiam fuisse.

LAELIUS. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere: nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermissio fiat offici. Tu 9 autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice, sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas de Catone. Aut enim nemo, quod quidem

magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem fili tulit! Memineram Paulum, videram Gallum; sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spec-
10 tato viro. Quam ob rem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum iudicavit: huius enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut iam cum utroque vestrum loquar, sic habetote. III. Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam viderint sapientes, sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo umquam erit, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit. Sed non egeo medicina: me ipse consolor et maxime illo solacio, quod eo errore careo, quo amicorum decessu plerique angi solent. Nihil mali accidisse Scipioni puto: mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum,
11 sed se ipsum amantis est. Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non adeptus est, quod homini fas esset optare, qui summam spem civium, quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adulescens incredibili virtute superavit; qui consulatum petivit numquam, factus consul est bis, primum ante tempus, iterum sibi suo tempore, rei publicae paene sero; qui duabus urbibus eversis inimicissumis huic imperio non modo praesentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit? Quid dicam de moribus facillimis, de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnis? Nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem annos ante, quam est mortuus, mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen
12 aufert eam viriditatem, in qua etiam nunc erat Scipio. Quam ob rem vita quidem talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria, ut nihil

posset accedere; moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit. Quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur videtis: hoc vere tamen licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus, quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, cum senatu dimisso domum reductus ad vesperum est a patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita, ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

IV. Neque enim adsentior eis, qui nuper haec disserere 13
coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri. Plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum maiorum, qui mortuis tam religiosa iura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur, vel eorum qui in hac terra fuerunt magnamque Graeciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est, tum florebat, institutis et praeceptis suis erudierunt, vel eius, qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est iudicatus, qui non tum hoc tum illud, ut in plerisque, sed idem semper, animos hominum esse divinos eisque, cum ex corpore excessissent, reditum in caelum patere optimoque et iustissimo cuique expeditissimum. Quod idem Scipioni videbatur, qui quidem, quasi 14
praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, cum et Philus et Manilius adesset et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica, cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est, ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemus cursum ad deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? Quocirca maerere hoc eius eventu vereor ne invidi magis quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora, ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe

nihil mali. Sensu enim amisso fit idem, quasi natus non esset omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et 15 haec civitas, dum erit, laetabitur. Quam ob rem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim, quocum mihi coniuncta cura de publica re et de privata fuit, quocum et domus fuit et militia communis et, id in quo omnis vis est amicitiae, voluntatum studiorum sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae, quam modo Fannius commemoravit, fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam spero sempiternam fore, idque eo mihi magis est cordi, quod ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum. quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laeli amicitiam notam posteritati fore.

16 FANNIUS. Istuc quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed quoniam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris—spero item Scaevolae—si, quem ad modum soles de ceteris rebus, cum ex te quaeruntur, sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem existimes, quae praecepta des. SCAEVOLA. Mihi vero erit gratum, atque id ipsum cum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevertit: quam ob rem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

17 V. LAELIUS. Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse confiderem, nam et praeclara res est et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum aut quae est in me facultas? Doctorum est ista consuetudo eaque Graecorum, ut eis ponatur de quo disputent quamvis subito. Magnum opus est egetque exercitatione non parva. Quam ob rem quae disputari de amicitia possunt, ab eis censeo petatis, qui ista profitentur: ego vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus rebus

humanis anteponatis; nihil est enim tam naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas. Sed hoc primum 18 sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse: neque id ad vivom reseco, ut illi, qui haec subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere, sed ad communem utilitatem parum; negant enim quemquam esse virum bonum nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane: sed eam sapientiam interpretantur, quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus; nos autem ea, quae sunt in usu vitaque communi, non ea, quae finguntur aut optantur, spectare debemus. Numquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientes nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientes. Qua re sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum, concedant ut viri boni fuerint. Ne id quidem facient; negabunt id nisi sapienti posse concedi. Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, 19 Minerva. Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivont, ut eorum probetur fides integritas aequitas liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas libido audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ei fuerunt, modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnis esset societas quaedam, maior autem, ut quisque proxime accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni; cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit, sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; sublata enim benevolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet. Quanta 20 autem vis amicitiae sit ex hoc intellegi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in augustum, ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos iungeretur. VI Est

enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humana-
rumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio, qua
quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nil unquam melius
homini sit a dis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii prae po-
nunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores,
multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc quidem extremum,
illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non tam in
consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate. Qui autem in
virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare illi quidem, sed
haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine
21 virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. Iam virtutem ex con-
suetudine vitae nostrae sermonisque nostri interpretemur nec
eam, ut quidam docti, verborum magnificentia metiamur,
virosque bonos eos qui habentur numeremus, Paulos Catones
Gallos Scipiones Philos—his communis vita contenta est—eos
22 autem omittamus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Talis
igitur inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas
vix queo dicere. Principio qui potest esse vita vitalis, ut ait
Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit?
Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui
ut tecum? Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi
haberes qui illis aeque ac tu ipse gauderet? Adversas vero
ferre difficile esset sine eo, qui illas gravius etiam quam tu
ferret. Denique ceterae res, quae expetuntur, opportunae
sunt singulae rebus fere singulis; divitiae, ut utare; opes, ut
colare; honores, ut laudere; voluptates, ut gaudeas; vale-
tudo, ut dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis: amicitia
res plurimas continet; quoquo te verteris praesto est, nullo
loco excluditur, numquam intempestiva, numquam molesta
est. Itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, pluribus locis utimur
quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de volgari aut de mediocri,
quae tamen ipsa et delectat et prodest, sed de vera et per-
fecta loquor, qualis eorum, qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam

et secundas res splendidiores facit amicitia, et adversas,
partiens communicansque, leviores. VII. Cumque plu- 23
rimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat, tum
illa nimirum praestat omnibus, quod bonam spem prae-
lucet in posterum, nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur.
Verum enim amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar
aliquod intuetur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egen-
tes abundant et imbecilli valent et, quod difficilius dictu
est, mortui vivent; tantus eos honos, memoria desiderium
prosequitur amicorum, ex quo illorum beata mors videtur,
horum vita laudabilis. Quod si exemeris ex rerum natura
benevolentiae coniunctionem, nec domus ulla nec urbs stare
poterit, ne agri quidem cultus permanebit. Id si minus intel-
legitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit, ex dissensioni-
bus atque discordiis percipi potest. Quae enim domus tam
stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis et discidiis
funditus possit everti? Ex quo, quantum boni sit in amicitia,
iudicari potest. Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam 24
virum carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum
natura totoque mundo constarent quaeque moverentur, ea
contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque hoc
quidem omnes mortales et intellegunt et re probant. Itaque,
si quando aliquod officium exstitit amici in periculis aut
adeundis aut communicandis, quis est qui id non maximis
efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis
et amici mei M. Pacuvi nova fabula, cum ignorante rege
uter Orestes esset, Pylades Oresten se esse diceret, ut pro
illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Oresten se esse per-
severaret! Stantes plaudebant in re ficta: quid arbitramur
in vera facturos fuisse? Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim
suam, cum homines, quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte
fieri in altero iudicarent.

Hactenus mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem potuisse

dicere; si quae praeterea sunt—credo autem esse multa—ab eis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quaeritote.

25 FANNIUS. Nos autem a te potius: quamquam etiam ab istis saepe quaesivi et audivi non invitus equidem, sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.

SCAEVOLA. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, cum est de re publica disputatum, affuisses. Qualis tum patronus iustitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili!

FANNIUS. Facile id quidem fuit iustitiam iustissimo viro defendere.

SCAEVOLA. Quid? amicitiam nonne facile ei, qui ob eam summa fide constantia iustitia servatam maximam gloriam ceperit?

26 VIII. LAELIUS. Vim hoc quidem est afferre: quid enim refert qua me ratione cogatis? Cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, praesertim in re bona, cum difficile est tum ne aecum quidem obsistere.

Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam coniungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab eis percipiuntur saepe, qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa; in amicitia autem nihil fictum, nihil simulatum est et, quid-
27 quid est, id est verum et voluntarium. Quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia, applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu amandi, quam cogitatione quantum illa res utilitatis esset habitura. Quod

quidem quale sit, etiam in bestiis quibusdam animadverti potest, quae ex se natos ita amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur, ut facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo est evidentius, primum ex ea caritate quae est inter natos et parentis, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere non potest, deinde cum similis sensus exstitit amoris, si aliquem nacti sumus, cuius cum moribus et natura congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis perspicere videamur. Nihil est enim virtute amabilius, nihil quod magis 28 alliciat ad diligendum: quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos, quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis est qui C. Fabrici, M'. Curi non cum caritate aliqua benevola memoriam usurpet, quos numquam viderit? Quis autem est qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp. Cassium, Sp. Maelium non oderit? Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et Hannibale; ab altero propter probitatem eius non nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crudelitatem semper haec civitas oderit.

IX. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam vel in eis, 29 quos numquam vidimus, vel, quod maius est, in hoste etiam diligamus, quid mirum est, si animi hominum moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu coniuncti esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videantur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto et studio perspecto et consuetudine adiuncta, quibus rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magnitudo. Quam si qui putant ab imbecillitate proficisci, ut sit per quem adsequatur quod quisque desideret, humilem sane relincunt et minime generosum, ut ita dicam, ortum amicitiae, quam ex inopia atque indigentia natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum esse in se arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus; quod longe secus est. Ut 30 enim quisque sibi plurimum confidit et ut quisque maxime

virtute et sapientia sic munitus est, ut nullo egeat suaque
omnia in se ipso posita iudicet, ita in amicitiis expetendis
colendisque maxime excellit. Quid enim? Africanus in-
digens mei? Minime hercule! Ac ne ego quidem illius, sed
ego admiratione quadam virtutis eius, ille vicissim opinione
fortasse non nulla quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit;
auxit benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates
multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab earum
31 spe causae diligendi profectae. Ut enim benefici liberalesque
sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam—neque enim beneficium
faeneramur—sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus, sic
amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius
32 fructus in ipso amore inest, expetendam putamus. Ab his,
qui pecudum ritu ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissen-
tiunt, nec mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac
divinum suspicere possunt, qui suas omnis cogitationes ab-
iecerunt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quam
ob rem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus, ipsi autem
intellegamus natura gigni sensum diligendi et benevolentiae
caritatem facta significatione probitatis, quam qui appetiverunt,
applicant sese et propius admovent, ut et usu eius, quem
diligere coeperunt, fruantur et moribus, sintque pares in
amore et aequales propensioresque ad bene merendum quam
ad reposcendum, atque haec inter eos sit honesta concertatio.
Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur, et erit eius
ortus a natura quam ab imbecillitate gravior et verior. Nam
si utilitas conglutinaret amicitias, eadem commutata dissol-
veret; sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae
amicitiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiae videtis,
nisi quid ad haec forte voltis.

FANNIUS. Tu vero perge, Laeli! Pro hoc enim, qui
minor est natu, meo iure respondeo.

33 SCAEVOLA. Recte tu quidem: quam ob rem audiamus.

X. Laelius. Audite vero, optimi viri, ea quae saepissime
inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur. Quamquam
ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat quam amicitiam usque
ad extremum diem vitae permanere: nam vel ut non idem
expediret incidere saepe, vel ut de re publica non idem
sentiretur; mutari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias
adversis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum
exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis aetatis, quod
summi puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga de-
ponerentur; sin autem ad adulescentiam perduxissent, dirimi 34
tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriae condicionis vel
commodi alicuius, quod idem adipisci uterque non posset.
Quod si qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe
labefactari, si in honoris contentionem incidissent; pestem
enim nullam maiorem esse amicitiis quam in plerisque
pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen
et gloriae, ex quo inimicitias maximas saepe inter amicissimos
exstitisse. Magna etiam discidia et plerumque iusta nasci, 35
cum aliquid ab amicis quod rectum non esset postularetur, ut
aut libidinis ministri aut adiutores essent ad iniuriam, quod
qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, ius tamen
amicitiae deserere arguerentur ab eis, quibus obsequi nollent;
illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postula-
tione ipsa profiteri omnia se amici causa esse facturos. Eorum
querela inveterata non modo familiaritates exstingui solere,
sed etiam odia gigni sempiterna. Haec ita multa quasi fata
impendere amicitiis, ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapi-
entiae, sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

XI. Quam ob rem id primum videamus, si placet, qua- 36
tenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Numne, si Corio-
lanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum
Coriolano debuerunt? Num Vecellinum amici regnum appe-
tentem, num Maelium debuerunt iuvare? Tiberium quidem 37

Gracchum rem publicam vexantem a Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. At C. Blossius Cumanus, hospes familiae vestrae, Scaevola, cum ad me, quod aderam Laenati et Rupilio consulibus in consilio, deprecatum venisset, hanc ut sibi ignoscerem causam afferebat, quod tanti Ti. Gracchum fecisset, ut quidquid ille vellet sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego 'etiamne,' inquam, 'si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet?' 'Numquam voluisset id quidem, sed, si voluisset, paruissem.' Videtis, quam nefaria vox. Et hercule ita fecit, vel plus etiam quam dixit: non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem praebuit. Itaque hac amentia, quaestione nova perterritus, in Asiam profugit, ad hostis se contulit, poenas rei publicae gravis iustasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris: nam, cum conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris.
38 Quod si rectum statuerimus vel concedere amicis quidquid
velint vel impetrare ab eis quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem
sapientia si simus, nihil habeat res viti; sed loquimur de eis
amicis, qui ante oculos sunt, quos videmus aut de quibus
memoriam accepimus, quos novit vita communis. Ex hoc
numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt, et eorum quidem maxi-
39 me, qui ad sapientiam proxime accedunt. Videmus Papum
Aemilium C. Luscino familiarem fuisse: sic a patribus accepimus, bis una consules, collegas in censura; tum et cum eis et inter se coniunctissimos fuisse M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium memoriae proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem possimus quemquam horum ab amico quidpiam contendisse, quod contra fidem, contra ius iurandum, contra rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris quid attinet dicere, si contendisset impetraturum non fuisse, cum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aeque autem nefas sit tale aliquid et facere roga-

tum et rogare? At vero Ti. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et minime tum quidem Gaius frater, nunc idem acerrimus.

XII. Haec igitur lex in amicitia sanciatur, ut neque 40
rogemus res turpis nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excusatio est et minime accipienda cum in ceteris peccatis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola, locati sumus, ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros casus rei publicae. Deflexit iam aliquantum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo maiorum. Ti. Gracchus regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is 41
quidem paucos menses. Num quid simile populus Romanus audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti amici et propinqui quid in P. Scipione effecerint, sine lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem, quocumque modo potuimus, propter recentem poenam Ti. Gracchi sustinuimus. De C. Gracchi autem tribunatu quid exspectem non libet augurari: serpit deinde res, quae proclivis ad perniciem, cum semel coepit, labitur. Videtis in tabella iam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre iam videor populum a senatu disiunctum, multitudinis arbitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent, quem ad modum haec fiant, quam quem ad modum his resistatur. Quorsum 42
haec? Quia sine sociis nemo quicquam tale conatur. Praecipiendum est igitur bonis, ut, si in eius modi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existiment ita se alligatos, ut ab amicis in magna aliqua re publica peccantibus non discedant; improbis autem poena statuenda est, nec vero minor eis qui secuti erunt alterum, quam eis qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces. Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle, quis potentior? Qui cum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam liberavisset propterque invidiam in exsilium expulsus esset, ingratae patriae iniuriam non tulit, quam ferre

debuit: fecit idem quod viginti annis ante apud nos fecerat
Coriolanus. His adiutor contra patriam inventus est nemo;
43 itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit. Qua re talis impro-
borum consensio non modo excusatione amicitiae tegenda
non est, sed potius supplicio omni vindicanda est, ut ne quis
concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi.
Quod quidem, ut res ire coepit, haud scio an aliquando
futurum sit: mihi autem non minori curae est, qualis res
publica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.

44 XIII. Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciatur, ut ab
amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus,
ne exspectemus quidem dum rogemur, studium semper adsit,
cunctatio absit, consilium verum dare audeamus libere,
plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat
auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo
aperte, sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pare-
45 atur. Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in
Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam—sed nihil est,
quod illi non persequantur argutiis—partim fugiendas esse
nimias amicitias, ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro
pluribus; satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum,
alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum
esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel
adducas cum velis vel remittas; caput enim esse ad
beate vivendum securitatem, qua frui non possit animus, si
46 tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. Alios autem dicere
aiunt multo etiam inhumanius, quem locum breviter paulo
ante perstrinxi, praesidi adiumentique causa, non bene-
volentiae neque caritatis amicitias esse expetendas: itaque
ut quisque minimum firmitatis haberet minimumque virium,
ita amicitias appetere maxime: ex eo fieri ut mulierculae
magis amicitiarum praesidia quaerant quam viri, et inopes
47 quam opulenti, et calamitosi quam ei qui putentur beati. O

praeclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur ei, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius. Quae est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est consentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne sollicitus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere. Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias aspernetur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo. Itaque videas rebus iniustis iustos maxime dolere, imbellibus fortis, flagitiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene constituti, et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis. Quam ob rem si cadit in sapien- 48
tem animi dolor, qui profecto cadit, nisi ex eius animo exstirpatam humanitatem arbitramur, quae causa est cur amicitiam funditus tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus molestias? Quid enim interest motu animi sublato, non dico inter pecudem et hominem, sed inter hominem et truncum aut saxum aut quidvis generis eiusdem? Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et quasi ferream esse quandam volunt: quae quidem est cum multis in rebus tum in amicitia tenera atque tractabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incommodis contrahatur. Quam ob rem angor iste, qui pro amico saepe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia non nullas curas et molestias afferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Cum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si quam significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus applicet et adiungat, id cum contigit, amor exoriatur necesse est. Quid enim tam absurdum quam delectari multis inani- 49
bus rebus, ut honore, ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis, animante virtute praedito, eo qui vel amare vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum delectari?

Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque iucundius.
50 Quid? si illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse quod ad se rem ullam tam illiciat et tam trahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo, concedetur profecto verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant asciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate coniunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim appetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura. Quam ob rem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constet, ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam benevolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura constitutus. Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet. Non enim est inhumana virtus neque immunis neque superba, quae etiam populos universos tueri eisque optime consulere soleat. quod non faceret profecto, si a caritate volgi abhorreret.

51 Atque etiam mihi quidem videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. Non enim tam utilitas parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat, tumque illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, iucundum, si cum studio est profectum, tantumque abest ut amicitiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ei, qui opibus et copiis maximeque virtute, in qua plurimum est praesidi, minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et beneficentissimi. Atque haud sciam an ne opus sit quidem nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia nostra viguissent, si numquam consilio, numquam opera nostra nec domi nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est.

52 XV. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes audiendi, si quando de amicitia, quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam, disputabunt. Nam quis est, pro deorum fidem atque hominum! qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec enim est tyran-

norum vita, nimirum in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla
stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper sus-
pecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae. Quis enim aut 53
eum diligat, quem metuat, aut eum, a quo se metui putet?
Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus. Quod si
forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderint, tum intellegitur quam
fuerint inopes amicorum. Quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt,
tum exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset,
quos infidos, cum iam neutris gratiam referre posset. Quam- 54
quam miror, illa superbia et importunitate si quemquam
amicum habere potuit. Atque ut huius, quem dixi, mores
veros amicos parare non potuerunt, sic multorum opes prae-
potentium excludunt amicitias fidelis. Non enim solum ipsa
fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos,
quos complexa est. Itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contu-
macia, nec quicquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri
potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea com-
modis fuerint moribus, imperio potestate prosperis rebus im-
mutari, sperni ab eis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. Quid 55
autem stultius quam, cum plurimum copiis facultatibus opibus
possint, cetera parare, quae parantur pecunia, equos famulos
vestem egregiam vasa pretiosa: amicos non parare, optimam
et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? Etenim
cetera cum parant, cui parent nesciunt nec cuius causa labo-
rant; eius enim est istorum quidque qui vicit viribus; ami-
citiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio, ut
etiam si illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona fortunae, tamen
vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse iucunda.
Sed haec hactenus.

XVI. Constituendi autem sunt, qui sint in amicitia 56
fines et quasi termini diligendi. De quibus tris video sen-
tentias ferri, quarum nullam probo: unam, ut eodem modo
erga amicum affecti simus quo erga nosmet ipsos; alteram,

ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiae pariter aequaliterque respondeat; tertiam, ut, quanti
57 quisque se ipse facit, tanti fiat ab amicis. Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus assentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quem ad modum in se quisque, sic in amicum sit animatus. Quam multa enim, quae nostra causa numquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum! Precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum acerbius in aliquem invehi insectarique vehementius, quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime; multaeque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique pati-
58 untur, ut eis amici potius quam ipsi fruantur. Altera sententia est, quae definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia nec observare restricte ne plus reddat quam acceperit: neque enim verendum est ne quid excidat aut ne quid in terram defluat aut ne plus aequo quid in amicitiam congeratur.
59 Tertius vero ille finis deterrimus, ut, quanti quisque se ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Saepe enim in quibusdam aut animus abiectior est aut spes amplificandae fortunae fractior. Non est igitur amici talem esse in eum, qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere, ut amici iacentem animum excitet inducatque spem cogitationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae constituendus est, si prius, quid maxime reprehendere Scipio solitus sit, dixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimiciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam eius, qui dixisset ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus, nec vero se adduci posse, ut hoc, quem ad modum putaretur, a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset unus e septem; impuri cuiusdam aut ambitiosi aut omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam. Quonam enim modo

quisquam amicus esse poterit ei, cui se putabit inimicum esse
posse? Quin etiam necesse erit cupere et optare ut quam
saepissime peccet amicus, quo pluris det sibi tamquam ansas
ad reprehendendum: rursum autem recte factis commodisque
amicorum necesse erit angi dolere invidere. Qua re hoc 60
quidem praeceptum, cuiuscumque est, ad tollendam amicit-
iam valet: illud potius praecipiendum fuit, ut eam diligentiam
adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis, ut ne quando amare
inciperemus eum, quem aliquando odisse possemus. Quin
etiam si minus felices in diligendo fuissemus, ferendum id
Scipio potius quam inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum
putabat.

XVII. His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, cum 61
emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum
consiliorum voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, ut
etiam si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus iustae amicorum
voluntates adiuvandae sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur
aut fama, declinandum de via sit, modo ne summa turpitudo
sequatur; est enim quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit.
Nec vero neglegenda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res
gerendas existimare oportet benevolentiam civium, quam
blanditiis et assentando colligere turpe est: virtus, quam
sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est. Sed—saepe enim 62
redeo ad Scipionem, cuius omnis sermo erat de amicitia—
querebatur quod omnibus in rebus homines diligentiores
essent: capras et ovis quot quisque haberet dicere posse,
amicos quot haberet non posse dicere; et in illis quidem
parandis adhibere curam, in amicis diligendis neglegentis
esse nec habere quasi signa quaedam et notas, quibus eos,
qui ad amicitiam essent idonei, iudicarent. Sunt igitur firmi
et stabiles et constantes eligendi, cuius generis est magna
penuria; et iudicare difficile est sane nisi expertum, experi-
endum autem est in ipsa amicitia: ita praecurrit amicitia

63 iudicium tollitque experiendi potestatem. Est igitur prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentiae, quo utamur, quasi equis temptatis, sic amicitia ex aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves; quidam autem, quos parva movere non potuit, cognoscuntur in magna. Sin vero erunt aliqui reperti qui pecuniam praeferre amicitiae sordidum existiment, ubi eos inveniemus, qui honores magistratus imperia potestates opes amicitiae non anteponant, ut, cum ex altera parte proposita haec sint, ex altera ius amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Imbecilla enim est natura ad contemnendam potentiam: quam etiam si neglecta amicitia consecuti sint, obscuratum iri arbitrantur, quia non sine magna
64 causa sit neglecta amicitia. Itaque verae amicitiae difficillime reperiuntur in eis, qui in honoribus reque publica versantur. Ubi enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid? haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates, ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendant. Quamquam Ennius recte:

Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur;

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem constantem stabilem se in amicitia praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro genere hominum iudicare debemus et paene divino.

65 XVIII. Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque est eius quem in amicitia quaerimus fides. Nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est. Simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem, id est, qui rebus isdem movetur, elegi par est; quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem. Neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum, neque vero, qui non isdem rebus movetur naturaque consentit, aut fidus aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem

est, ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat ob-
latis, quae pertinent omnia ad eam, quam iam dudum tracto,
constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam
nisi inter bonos esse non posse. Est enim boni viri, quem
eundem sapientem licet dicere, haec duo tenere in amicitia:
primum, ne quid fictum sit neve simulatum; aperte enim vel
odisse magis ingenui est quam fronte occultare sententiam:
deinde non solum ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere,
sed ne ipsum quidem esse suspiciosum, semper aliquid ex-
istimantem ab amico esse violatum. Accedat huc suavitas 66
quaedam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam
mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et in omni
re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed amicitia
remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad omnem comi-
tatem facilitatemque proclivior.

XIX. Exsistit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio sub- 67
difficilis, num quando amici novi, digni amicitia, veteribus
sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros anteponere solemus:
indigna homine dubitatio; non enim debent esse amicitiarum,
sicut aliarum rerum, satietates; veterrima quaeque, ut ea
vina quae vetustatem ferunt, esse debent suavissima, ve-
rumque illud est, quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul
edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. Novitates 68
autem, si spem afferunt, ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus
fructus appareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae, vetustas
tamen loco suo conservanda; maxima est enim vis vetus-
tatis et consuetudinis. Ipso equo, cuius modo feci men-
tionem, si nulla res impediat, nemo est quin eo, quo con-
suevit, libentius utatur quam intractato et novo; nec vero
in hoc, quod est animal, sed in eis etiam, quae sunt inanima,
consuetudo valet, cum locis ipsis delectemur, montuosis etiam
et silvestribus, in quibus diutius commorati sumus.

Sed maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem esse 69

inferiori. Saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Numquam se ille Philo, numquam Rupilio, numquam Mummio anteposuit, numquam inferioris ordinis amicis. Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate, tamquam superiorem colebat suosque omnis
70 per se posse esse ampliores volebat. Quod faciendum imitandumque est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis ingeni fortunae consecuti sunt, impertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis; ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliore vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati: ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerunt, cum cogniti sunt et aut deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod est multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus enim ingeni et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum maximus capitur, cum in proximum quemque confertur.

71 XX. Ut igitur ei, qui sunt in amicitiae coniunctionisque necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum inferioribus debent, sic inferiores non dolere se a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant, eoque magis, si habere se putant quod officiose et amice et cum labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere: odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quae meminisse debet is, in quem
72 collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit. Quam ob rem, ut ei, qui superiores sunt, submittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam, qui molestas amicitias faciunt, cum ipsi se contemni putant: quod non fere contingit nisi eis, qui etiam contemnendos se arbitrantur, qui hac opinione non modo verbis, sed etiam

opera legandi sunt. Tantum autem cuique tribuendum, 73
primum quantum ipse efficere possis, deinde etiam quantum
ille, quem diligas atque adiuves, sustinere. Non enim neque
tu possis, quamvis excellas, omnis tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere, ut Scipio P. Rupilium potuit consulem
efficere, fratrem eius Lucium non potuit. Quod si etiam
possis quidvis deferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen quid
ille possit sustinere. Omnino amicitiae corroboratis iam con- 74
firmatisque et ingeniis et aetatibus iudicandae sunt, nec, si
qui ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt, eos
habere necessarios, quos tum eodem studio praeditos
dilexerunt. Isto enim modo nutrices et paedagogi iure
vetustatis plurimum benevolentiae postulabunt. Qui neglegendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam modo aestimandi:
aliter amicitiae stabiles permanere non possunt. Disparis
enim mores disparia studia secuntur, quorum dissimilitudo
dissociat amicitias, nec ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis,
improbi bonis amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est
inter eos, quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque
distantia. Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiis, ne in- 75
temperata quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit, impediat
magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut ad fabulas redeam,
Troiam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomeden, apud
quem erat educatus, multis cum lacrimis iter suum impedientem audire voluisset. Et saepe incidunt magnae res, ut
discedendum sit ab amicis: quas qui impedire volt, quod
desiderium non facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura
et ob eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum iustus. Atque in 76
omni re considerandum est, et quid postules ab amico et quid
patiare a te impetrari.

XXI. Est etiam quaedam calamitas in amicitiis dimittendis non numquam necessaria: iam enim a sapientum familiaritatibus ad volgaris amicitias oratio nostra delabitur.

Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum in ipsos amicos, tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiae sunt remissione usus eluendae et, ut Catonem dicere audivi, dissuendae magis quam discindendae, nisi quaedam admodum intolerabilis iniuria exarserit, ut neque rectum neque honestum sit nec fieri possit ut non statim
77 alienatio disiunctioque facienda sit. Sin autem aut morum aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri solet, facta erit, aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio intercesserit—loquor enim iam, ut paulo ante dixi, non de sapientum, sed de communibus amicitiis—cavendum erit ne non solum amicitiae depositae, sed etiam inimicitiae susceptae videantur. Nihil enim est turpius quam cum eo bellum gerere, quocum familiariter vixeris. Ab amicitia Q. Pompei meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis, Scipio; propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello: utrumque egit graviter ac moderate et offensione animi non
78 acerba. Quam ob rem primum danda opera est ne quae amicorum discidia fiant: sin tale aliquid evenerit, ut exstinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse videantur. Cavendum vero ne etiam in gravis inimicitias convertant se amicitiae, ex quibus iurgia maledicta contumeliae gignuntur. Quae tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferendae sunt et hic honos veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit qui faciat, non is qui patiatur iniuriam.

Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis cito diligere
79 incipiant neve non dignos. Digni autem sunt amicitia, quibus in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur: rarum genus; et quidem omnia praeclara rara, nec quicquam difficilius quam reperire quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit, et amicos tamquam pecudes eos

potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos. Ita pulcherrima illa et maxime naturali carent 80
amicitia per se et propter se expetita, nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, haec vis amicitiae et qualis et quanta sit; ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se quisque sibi carus est; quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur: est enim is, qui est tamquam alter idem. Quod si 81
hoc apparet in bestiis volucribus nantibus agrestibus, cicuribus feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant, id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur, deinde ut requirant atque appetant ad quas se applicent eiusdem generis animantis, idque faciant cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in homine fit natura, qui et se ipse diligit et alterum anquirit, cuius animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus!

XXII. Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam impudenter, 82
habere talem amicum volunt, quales ipsi esse non possunt, quaeque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab eis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea, quam iam dudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, cum homines benevolentia coniuncti primum cupiditatibus eis quibus ceteri serviunt imperabunt, deinde aequitate iustitiaque gaudebunt omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet neque quicquam umquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligent, sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit, qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. Itaque in eis perniciosus est 83
error, qui existimant libidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam. Virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea quae summa sunt pervenire, coniuncta et

consociata cum altera perveniret. Quae si quos inter societas
aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad sum-
mum naturae bonum optimus beatissimusque comitatus.
84 Haec est, inquam, societas, in qua omnia insunt, quae putant
homines expetenda, honestas gloria tranquillitas animi atque
iucunditas, ut et, cum haec adsint, beata vita sit, et sine his
esse non possit. Quod cum optimum maximumque sit, si
id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec
amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus:
ea vero neglecta qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se
denique errasse sentiunt, cum eos gravis aliqui casus experiri
85 cogit. Quocirca, dicendum est enim saepius, cum iudicaris,
diligere oportet; non, cum dilexeris, iudicare. Sed cum
multis in rebus neglegentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis
et diligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur consiliis
et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Nam, im-
plicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam officiis, re-
pente in medio cursu amicitias exorta aliqua offensione
86 disrumpimus; (XXIII) quo etiam magis vituperanda est rei
maxime necessariae tanta incuria. Una est enim amicitia in
rebus humanis, de cuius utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt;
quamquam a multis virtus ipsa contemnitur et venditatio
quaedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur; multi divitias des-
piciunt, quos parvo contentos tenuis victus cultusque delectat;
honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur, quam
multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil esse levius ex-
istiment! Itemque cetera, quae quibusdam admirabilia
videntur, permulti sunt qui pro nihilo putent.. De amicitia
omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ei qui ad rem publicam se
contulerunt, et ei qui rerum cognitione doctrinaque delec-
tantur, et ei qui suum negotium gerunt otiosi, postremo ei
qui se totos tradiderunt voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse
nullam, si modo velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere.

Serpit enim nescio quo modo per omnium vitas amicitia nec 87
ullam aetatis degendae rationem patitur esse expertem sui.
Quin etiam si quis asperitate ea est et immanitate naturae,
congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit, qualem fuisse
Athenis Timonem nescio quem accepimus, tamen is pati non
possit, ut non anquirat aliquem, apud quem evomat virus
acerbitatis suae. Atque hoc maxime iudicaretur, si quid tale
possit contingere, ut aliquis nos deus ex hac hominum fre-
quentia tolleret et in solitudine uspiam collocaret atque ibi,
suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abun-
dantiam et copiam, hominis omnino aspiciendi potestatem
eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus qui eam vitam ferre posset
cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo?
Verum ergo illud est, quod a Tarentino Archyta, ut opinor, 88
dici solitum nostros senes commemorare audivi ab aliis
senibus auditum: si quis in caelum ascendisset naturamque
mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem
illam admirationem ei fore, quae iucundissima fuisset, si
aliquem cui narraret habuisset. Sic natura solitarium nihil
amat semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum adnititur,
quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed cum tot signis eadem natura declaret quid
velit anquirat desideret, tamen obsurdescimus nescio quo
modo nec ea, quae ab ea monemur, audimus. Est enim
varius et multiplex usus amicitiae multaeque causae suspicio-
num offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare, tum elevare,
tum ferre sapientis est. Una illa subeunda est offensio, ut et
utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatur: nam et monendi amici
saepe sunt et obiurgandi, et haec accipienda amice, cum
benevole fiunt. Sed nescio quo modo verum est, quod in 89
Andria familiaris meus dicit:

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Molesta veritas, siquidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est
venenum amicitiae sed obsequium multo molestius, quod
peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit; maxima
autem culpa in eo, qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem
obsequio impellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio
et diligentia est, primum ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut
obiurgatio contumelia careat. In obsequio autem, quoniam
Terentiano verbo lubenter utimur, comitas adsit, assentatio
vitiorum adiutrix procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico,
sed ne libero quidem digna est; aliter enim cum tyranno,
90 aliter cum amico vivitur. Cuius autem aures clausae veritati
sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, huius salus despe-
randa est. Scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa: melius
de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri, quam eos amicos, qui
dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos numquam.
Atque illud absurdum, quod ei, qui monentur, eam molestiam
quam debent capere non capiunt, eam capiunt qua debent
vacare. Peccasse enim se non anguntur, obiurgari moleste
ferunt: quod contra oportebat delicto dolere, correctione
gaudere.

91 XXV. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est
verae amicitiae, et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum
patienter accipere, non repugnanter, sic habendum est nullam
in amicitiis pestem esse maiorem, quam adulationem blandi-
tiam assentationem: quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc
vitium notandum levium hominum atque fallacium, ad volup-
92 tatem loquentium omnia, nihil ad veritatem. Cum autem
omnium rerum simulatio vitiosa est, tollit enim iudicium
veri idque adulterat, tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet
enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest.
Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat
ex pluribus; qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque
unus animus erit idemque semper, sed varius commutabilis

multiplex? Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium, 93
quam animus eius, qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac
voluntatem, sed etiam voltum atque nutum convertitur?

Negat quis, nego; ait, aio; postremo imperavi egomet mihi
Omnia assentari,

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille in Gnathonis persona, quod
amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. Multi autem 94
Gnathonum similes, cum sint loco fortuna fama superiores,
quorum est assentatio molesta, cum ad vanitatem accessit
auctoritas. Secerni autem blandus amicus a vero et inter- 95
nosci tam potest adhibita diligentia, quam omnia fucata et
simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio, quae ex imperitis-
simis constat, tamen iudicare solet, quid intersit inter popu-
larem, id est assentatorem et levem civem, et inter constan-
tem et verum et gravem. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper 96
influebat in auris contionis, cum ferret legem de tribunis
plebis reficiendis! Dissuasimus nos: sed nihil de me, de
Scipione dicam libentius. Quanta illi, di immortales, fuit
gravitas, quanta in oratione maiestas! ut facile ducem populi
Romani, non comitem diceres. Sed affuistis, et est in
manibus oratio. Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi re-
pudiata est. Atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis Q. Maximo
fratre Scipionis et L. Mancino consulibus, quam popularis lex
de sacerdotiis C. Licini Crassi videbatur; cooptatio enim
collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur. Atque is
primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo. Tamen
illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum immortalium nobis
defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore
me, quinquennio ante quam consul sum factus. Ita re magis
quam summa auctoritate causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. Quod si in scena, id est in contione, in qua 97
rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum

valet, si modo id patefactum et illustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quae tota veritate perpenditur? In qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum id quam vere fiat ignores. Quamquam ista assentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei, qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit ut is assentatoribus patefaciat auris suas maxime, qui ipse sibi
98 assentetur et se maxime ipse delectet. Omnino est amans sui virtus; optime enim se ipsa novit quamque amabilis sit intellegit: ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Hos delectat assentatio, his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo cum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur haec amicitia, cum alter verum audire non volt, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis assentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?

Satis erat respondere 'magnas.' Ingentis, inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cuius ad voluntatem dicitur,
99 volt esse magnum. Quam ob rem, quamquam blanda ista vanitas apud eos valet, qui ipsi illam adlectant et invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animadvertant ne callida assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors: callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet, studiose cavendum est. Nec enim facillime agnoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando saepe assentetur et litigare se simulans blandiatur atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut is, qui illusus sit, plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem turpius

quam illudi? Quod ut ne accidat magis cavendum est:

Ut me hodie ante omnis comicos stultos senes
Versaris atque illusseris lautissime!

Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est improvi- 100
dorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo pacto ab
amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est sapientum—de hac
dico sapientia, quae videtur in hominem cadere posse—ad
levis amicitias defluxit oratio. Quam ob rem ad illa prima
redeamus eaque ipsa concludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci, et
conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim convenientia
rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia: quae cum se extulit
et ostendit suum lumen et idem aspexit agnovitque in alio,
ad id se admovet vicissimque accipit illud, quod in altero est,
ex quo exardescit sive amor sive amicitia. Utrumque enim
dictum est ab amando; amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum
ipsum diligere quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate
quaesita: quae tamen ipsa ecflorescit ex amicitia, etiam si tu
eam minus secutus sis. Hac nos adulescentes benevolentia 101
senes illos, L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C. Gallum, P. Nasicam,
Ti. Gracchum Scipionis nostri socerum dileximus: haec etiam
magis elucet inter aequalis, ut inter me et Scipionem, L.
Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp. Mummium: vicissim autem senes
in adulescentium caritate acquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q.
Tuberonis; equidem etiam admodum adulescentis P. Rutili,
A. Vergini familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio com-
parata est vitae naturaeque nostrae, ut alia aetas oriatur,
maxime quidem optandum est ut cum aequalibus possis, qui-
buscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum isdem ad
calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles 102
caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt quos diligamus
et a quibus diligamur: caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata

omnis est e vita sublata iucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quam-
quam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet: virtutem
enim amavi illius viri, quae exstincta non est. Nec mihi soli
versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed
etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo umquam animo
aut spe maiora suscipiet qui sibi non illius memoriam atque
103 imaginem proponendam putet. Equidem ex omnibus rebus,
quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo quod cum
amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de re
publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in
eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Numquam illum ne
minima quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim, nihil
audivi ex eo ipse quod nollem; una domus erat, idem victus
isque communis, neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrina-
104 tiones rusticationesque communes. Nam quid ego de studiis
dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi, in quibus
remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus?
Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occi-
disset, desiderium coniunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre
nullo modo possem. Sed nec illa exstincta sunt aluntur que
potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et, si illis
plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen affert mihi aetas ipsa
solacium: diutius enim iam in hoc desiderio esse non pos-
sum; omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent, etiam si
magna sunt.

Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem; vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

NOTES.

N.B. *In references to passages in the dialogue the first figure refers to the small section, not the chapter. In all quotations from Cicero sections not chapters are referred to, unless the contrary is stated.*

§ 1.

1 *Q. Mucius.. C. Laelio:* see Introd. p. 14.

2 *memoriter:* not 'by heart' or 'from memory' but 'with good memory,' like μνημονικῶς (Xen. Cyr. 5, 3, 46). Madvig is right in saying (on Fin. 1, 34) *semper hoc vocabulum laudem habet bonae et copiosae memoriae.*

nec dubitare: =*et (solebat) non dubitare.* When *dubitare* means *to hesitate about doing something*, it generally takes an infinitive after it if the sentence (as here) is *negative*, or is an *interrogative* sentence which implies a negative. Occasionally, in such sentences, *dubitare* takes another construction, viz. *quin* with subj. More examples of this usage occur in Cic. than in any other author: *e.g.* Leg. agr. 2, 69 *et vos non dubitatis quin vectigalia vestra vendatis.* In a *positive* sentence the infinitive is unusual: cf. Sall. Cat. 15, 2 *ea illi nubere dubitat*; Cic. N. D. 1, 113 *accusat fratrem suum quod dubitet omnia ventre metiri.*

3 *sapientem:* see Introd. p. 15, n. 6.

4 *ita eram deductus etc.:* 'had been introduced to Scaevola on the understanding, that *etc.*' For this sense of *deducere*, to introduce a young man to a master or guardian, cf. Cael. 9 *ut huic virilem togam dedi...hunc a patre continuo ad me esse deductum.* It was a common practice to attach youths for a time to the society of distinguished jurists or orators; see Tac. dial. 34; Quint. 12, 11, 6.

Scaevolam: but above (line 1) Q. Mucius, the same person: Lahmeyer quotes similar changes from Cic. dom. 115; Sall. Iug. 27, 4; Nep. Hamilc. 1, 3 and 5.

virili toga: called also *toga pura* (as in Att. 7, 8, 5) to distinguish it from the *toga praetexta* (sometimes called merely *praetexta*) the purple bordered robe worn at Rome by magistrates and children. The toga of the ordinary adult citizen was not dyed. The *toga virilis* was generally assumed at the beginning of the seventeenth year. For *virilis toga* instead of *toga virilis* cf. Cael. 9 quoted above, and *praetexta toga* in 33, p. 39, l. 9.

quoad possem et liceret: cf. Lucr. 2, 850 *quoad licet ac possis;* Cic. Leg. agr. 2, 19 *quoad posset, quoad fas esset, quoad liceret.*

5 *a senis...discederem:* an exaggerated expression, as in Balb. 5 *accusator fatetur hunc numquam a Memmio discessisse;* Liv. 37, 53, 18 *numquam a consule abscessi.*

6 *ab eo...disputata:* Cic. allows *disputare* to govern an accusative of a neuter pronoun only, in place of the usual constr., viz. *de* with abl.; so in 24, p. 36, l. 2; 16, l. 22. He is more free in his use of the passive; thus he says in De Or. 1. 22 *re quaesita et disputata*, though he would hardly say *rem disputare* for *de re disputare.* Cf. 4, l. 14.

8 *prudentia:* this word usually implies not wisdom in general but *skill* in some *special* subject; here Roman Law; cf. *prudens in iure* in 6, p. 29, l. 1.

me...contuli: contrast this with *a patre deductus eram* above.

9 *unum...praestantissimum:* this emphatic use of *unus* with the superlative is common in Cic., *e.g.* Tusc. 2, 64; 4, 55; 5, 66; so Verg. Aen. 2, 426 *cadit et Rhipeus iustissimus unus*, and Homer, Il. 12, 243 εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος. For the gen. *nostrae civitatis* cf. Tusc. 3, 81 *unum omnium maximum.* The strengthening force of *unus* is also seen in the common phrases *quivis unus, quilibet unus, unus aliquis, unus quisque.*

10 *sed de hoc alias: nunc etc.:* the ellipse of the verb (*dicam*) is common; cf. Tusc. 3, 10 *sed id alias, nunc quod instat;* ib. 3, 25 *sed cetera alias: nunc...*; ib. 3, 73 *sed de hoc alias, nunc...*; Balb. 1 *ego quantum ei debeam, alio loco;* also below, 13, l. 18; 64, l. 19; 32, l. 30. Observe that in the best writers *alias* is always equivalent to *alio tempore*, never to *alio modo.* For *redeo* cf. De Or. 2, 62 *sed illuc redeo;* below, 96, l. 22 *ut ad me redeam;* also 75, l. 22.

§ 2.

11 *cum saepe multa, tum etc.:* there is a change of construction in this sentence which leaves the clause *cum saepe multa* incomplete. Something like *eum dicere* must be supplied. Trans. 'I remember much that he said on many occasions, but particularly that *etc.*' On the constr. of *memini* Roby § 1372 says '*memini* is used with the present (and sometimes the perfect) infinitive of events of which the subject himself was witness, with the perfect infinitive of events of which the subject was not witness'. The rule may be somewhat more precisely stated thus. If the person who recalls an event was a witness of it, he may either (*a*) vividly picture to himself the event and its attendant circumstances so that it becomes really present to his mind's eye for the moment, in which case he uses the present infinitive, or (*b*) he may simply recall the *fact* that the event *did* take place in past time, in which case the perfect infinitive is used. If he was not a witness, he evidently can conceive the event only in the latter of these two ways. As regards (*a*) cf. Verg. Ecl. 9, 52 *longos cantando puerum memini me condere soles* with Georg. 4, 125 *memini me Corycium vidisse senem.* Examples like the latter of these two are more numerous than is commonly supposed.

12 *hemicyclio:* a large semicircular bench, not a part of the household furniture, but placed outside in the grounds, and used for conversations, or lectures, the shape enabling the company to see each other's faces. So, at the outset of the discussion in the Academica (1, 14), Cic. says *omnes in conspectu consedimus.*

13 *admodum:* Lahmeyer is wrong in taking this with *familiares;* it qualifies *pauci*, as in Tusc. 4, 6 *nulla fere sunt aut pauca admodum Latina monumenta*, though Cic. nearly always says *admodum pauci* rather than *pauci admodum;* cf. Tusc. 2, 11; Top. 3; N. D. 3, 69; Leg. 3, 32; Phil. 3, 36 and 14, 27. In 16, l. 25 we have *gratum admodum.* In sense, *admodum* exactly corresponds with our phrase 'to a degree'.

eum sermonem qui:=sermonem de ea re quae..., like *is timor=timor eius rei*, common in Livy. So below, 3, l. 19 *eam mentionem=eius rei mentionem.* Cf. also 55, l. 26; 32, l. 24 *haec concertatio;* 88, l. 18 *illam admirationem*, and n. on 38, l. 22 *ex hoc numero.*

14 *tum fere:* 'just about that time'; cf. 14, p. 31, l. 26 *extremum fere* 'almost the last part'; also 5, l. 21 *nemo fere*, 'hardly any one'; 72, l. 32 *non fere.* Lahmeyer, Nauck, and others err by supposing *fere* to qualify the words *erat in ore*, and to mean 'generally', 'commonly', like *volgo*, for which sense cf. 54, l. 15. *Fere* nearly though not quite always modifies the word which immediately precedes, and is often joined with expressions relating to time, when the time is not fixed with absolute exactness. So Cic. Rep. 2, 56 *decem fere annis;* Pis. 13 *quinta fere hora;* Caes. B. G. 4, 23, 1 *tertia fere vigilia.* The Greek expressions *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰπεῖν* (which have a verbal resemblance to the Latin phrase *ut ita dicam*, but do not resemble it in their sense) correspond very closely to *fere.*

multis erat in ore: Cic. uses both constructions, *esse in ore alicui* and *esse in ore alicuius.* Cf. Appendix on *tum fere multis.*

15 *P. Sulpicio:* see Introd. p. 20.

uteretur multum: 'were much in the society of...'

16 *cum ..vixerat:* in translating, these words should be taken after the words from *quanta* to *querella.*

is tribunus plebis: not 'that tribune', but 'he, being tribune', or 'he, as tribune'.

capitali odio: 'deadly hatred'. The same phrase occurs in a fragm. of Cic. (Baiter, XIII 1, 2); cf. also Hor. Sat. 1, 7, 13 *ira capitalis.*

17 *quocum:* so 15, l. 8 and 77, p. 52, l. 13, but in 22, p. 34, l. 20 *quicum.* *Quocum* is commonly used when some particular and specified person is meant, as here and 15, ll. 8, 9, *quicum* when the statement is general and the person undefined, as in § 22. The MSS, however, vary so much between the two forms that it is often difficult to decide concerning them.

19 *querella:* 'complaint'. The spelling *querella* seems better attested than *querela.*

§ 3.

cum .. incidisset: 'having chanced to talk of that particular fact', *i.e.* the fact that Sulpicius had turned against his former friend; this led

Scaevola to the general subject of friendship. For *eam mentionem* see n. on 2, l. 13 *cum sermonem.*

21 *secum et cum:* so 11, l. 31 *mecum et cum*, and often.

C. Fannio: see Introd. p. 16. The young student should clearly realise the fact that C. is an abbreviation for GAIUS, not CAIUS, the latter form of the name having been absolutely unknown to the Romans of the Republic and early Empire. It appears in an inscription (Vol. III no. 1178 of Mommsen's Corpus) of the time of Caracalla. On the other hand, it is not uncommon to find in modern books the abbreviation written G. instead of C. (*e.g.* in Gerlach's edition of Sallust throughout, and occasionally in R. Ellis' Catullus; so Kühner, Gram. 1, ed. 2, p. 708 '*C. oder G. Gaius*'). But the Romans always wrote C. not G. In very early times the Latin alphabet contained no letter G, and the letter C represented two distinct sounds, the guttural tenuis and the guttural media. After the introduction of G the Romans still kept up the old fashion of writing C. for Gaius and Cn. for Gnaeus; so they wrote K. for Caeso.

22 *Africani:* see Introd. p. 17 sq.

P. 28.

1 *sententias:* 'the opinions expressed in the discussion', *i.e.* their purport, not the actual words.

exposui arbitratu meo: 'have rendered at my own discretion'. Like very many other nouns whose stems end in *-u*, *arbitratus* scarcely appears except in the ablative singular. [The nom. sing. and accus. sing. are also found, but only in Plautus.] The other cases of the sing. are supplied by the corresponding cases of *arbitrium*, and even in the ablative *arbitrio* is commoner than *arbitratu* (41, l. 21). *Rogatu* in 4, l. 7 is an isolated ablative.

2 *quasi...loquentis:* 'I have exhibited them as speaking in person, if I may say so'. *Quasi* modifies the too strong expression *ipsos*; cf. 27, p. 37, l. 8; 55, l. 27; 6, p. 29, l. 5; 48, l. 20: 50, l. 6; 56, l. 31; 37, l. 26. A modern writer would hardly have thought it necessary to indicate that the interlocutors cannot *actually* appear in person.

ne 'inquam' etc.: this is directly and closely imitated from the introduction to Plato's Theaetetus, p. 142 (a dialogue Cic. imitates elsewhere, as in De Or. 3, 47; Tusc. 1, 8), where Euclides says with regard to the subject-matter of that dialogue ἐγραψάμην δὲ δὴ οὑτωσὶ τὸν λόγον, οὐκ ἐμοὶ Σωκράτη διηγούμενον ὡς διηγεῖτο, ἀλλὰ διαλεγόμενον οἷς ἔφη διαλεχθῆναι... ἵνα οὖν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ μὴ παρέχοιεν πράγματα αἱ μεταξὺ (cf. *interponerentur*) τῶν λόγων διηγήσεις περὶ αὑτοῦ τε ὁπότε λέγοι ὁ Σωκράτης, οἷον, Κἀγὼ ἔφην (*inquam*) ἢ Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον, ἢ αὖ περὶ τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου, ὅτι Συνέφη (*inquit*) ἢ Οὐχ ὡμολόγει, τούτων ἕνεκα αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς διαλεγόμενον ἔγραψα (*quasi ipsos induxi loquentis*), ἐξελὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα.

4 *coram:* adverb here, as it is almost throughout the Republican and Augustan Latin. The prepositional use occurs in two passages of Cicero, Pis. 12 *mihi vero ipsi coram genero meo quae dicere ausus es* (where I would insert *et* before *genero* and take *coram* adverbially) and [illegible] 13,

6A, 1, and in one or two of Nepos, but Tacitus is the only writer who uses the word *freely* as a preposition. The grammars and dictionaries do not quote Livy for the prepositional use, which occurs in 35, 49, 1.

§ 4.

cum enim etc.: the triple repetition of *cum* in this sentence seems careless and inelegant, but passages of the sort are not uncommon in Cic.; cf. my n. on pro Balbo 1, l. 3, also Fam. 9, 6, 3 *cum videremus cum...tum*.

5 *mecum ageres*. 'pleaded with me'; so *tecum agere* in 16, l. 24; *agere cum populo* in 96, l. 26.

scriberem aliquid: so Cat. m. 2 *cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere*.

7 *feci ut prodessem*: I took pains to confer benefit. The constr. is a favourite one with Cic.; cf. Vat. 21 *invitus facio ut recorder*; Cat. m. 42 *invitus feci ut L. Flaminium e senatu eicerem*. Cic. often gives as his reason for writing the desire to serve his countrymen; so Acad. 1, 11; Div. 2, 5; Off. 2, 2. *Non invitus* also in 25, l. 4.

8 *Catone maiore*: see Introd. p. 10.

qui est...senectute: 'which I dedicated to you...'; cf. Cat. m. 3 *hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus*; Fin. 1, 8 *libro quem ad me de virtute misisti*; Div. 2, 3 *liber is quem ad Atticum de senectute misimus*; Att. 8, 12. 6 *Demetri Magnetis librum quem ad te misit de concordia*. For the collocation of the words cf. Tusc. 4, 66 *eam rationem quae maxime probatur de bonis et malis*, also De Or. 2, 61 *libri qui sunt fere inscripti de*.

9 *induxi...persona*: both words are connected with the stage. *Inducere* is literally 'to bring upon the boards' (cf. 59, l. 25): *persona* properly means a mask, here *a type of character* as we say. See my n. on Arch. 3, l. 13, also cf. Lael. 93, l. 5; 100, l. 4, and for the general sense of the passage Att. 13, 19, 5 *haec Academica, ut scis, cum Catulo Lucullo Hortensio contuleram. Sane in personas non cadebant*; ib. 13, 16, 1 *ecce tuae litterae de Varrone. Nemini visa est aptior* 'Αντιοχεία *ratio*.

10 *loqueretur*: Cic. uses *loqui* (more rarely other verbs of speaking) very frequently when the subject is an abstract noun, as here *persona* practically is. So Fin. 2, 48 *consuetudo loquitur*; ib. 4, 41 *institutio hominis si loqueretur*; Acad. 2, 101 *conclusio loquitur*.

12 *floruisset*: at first sight this seems a reference to the physical and mental powers for which Cato was famous in advanced age. Cic., however, does not use *florere* in the sense of *vigere*; Nauck therefore is probably right in supposing the word to allude to the general worldly prosperity of Cato, indicated in Cat. m. 8.

maxime memorabilem: superlatives from adjectives in *-bilis* are rare. In 51, l. 16 we have *amabilissimum*; Cato has *stabilissimus*, Columella *mirabilissimum*, and *mobilissimus* is common; these are all the instances which appear until post-Augustan times. Several adjectives of this class, as *laudabilis probabilis flebilis*, have comparatives, but no superlatives, in pre-Classical or Classical Latin.

13 *idonea:* 'I thought Laelius a suitable character to expound the very views which had been maintained by him and recalled to mind by Scaevola'. Literally 'which, maintained by him, Sc. had recalled'. It is not necessary to supply *esse* so as to make this a case of the perfect infinitive after *meminisset*. *Disputare aliquid* (cf. n. on 1, l. 6) often means not *to discuss an opinion*, but to *put an opinion forward in discussion*, and so *to defend* or *maintain* it; cf. n. on 8, l. 21 *respondere*.

15 *genus autem etc.:* 'discourses of this kind seem, somehow or other, to acquire greater dignity when they rely on (lit. are founded on) the influence of ancient characters, particularly such as are renowned'. Observe *genus hoc sermonum = sermones huius generis;* cf. 12, p. 31, l. 2 *quo de genere mortis;* 93, l. 6 *id genus amici*.

18 *mea:* without *scripta*, as in Acad. 1, 8 *nihil magno opere meorum miror*. So 7, l. 12 *omnia tua*.

§ 5.

19 *senem senex:* at the time the Cato maior was written Atticus was 65 and Cic. 60. Note the fondness of Cic. (as well as other Latins) for bringing into juxtaposition different cases of the same word. So De Or. 2, 310 *rebus res* and Lucr. 1, 359 *res rebus;* cf. also below, 25, l. 10 *iustitiam iustissimo*.

20 *hoc libro:* this corresponds to *tum* above; *nunc* would have been more formally correct; so below, ll. 20, 21 *tum...nunc*.

21 *scripsi de amicitia:* it is not often that Cic. leaves out the object after *scribere;* above in 4, l. 5 *aliquid* is added. Sometimes a qualifying adverb takes the place of the object, as Att. 9, 15, 5 *quod scribis me asperius quam mei patiantur mores de Dionysio scripsisse*. Here the phrase *ad amicum amicissimus* softens the construction. Cf. however Fam. 9, 16, 1: 14, 2, 4.

22 *senior—prudentior—sapiens—amicitiae gloria excellens*. notice the order of the phrases, *sapiens* corresponding with *prudentior*, and *senior* with *amicitiae gloria excellens;* an instance of *chiasmus;* see n. on 23, l. 10.

24 *tu velim...avertas:* we have here an incomplete conditional sentence, the apodosis only being given, while the protasis (something like *si tu quoque velis*, or *si tibi idem cordi esset*) is suppressed as in 24, p. 35, l. 31 *possent;* also 51, l. 23 *sciam;* 47, l. 10 *videas*. When Cic. uses the subjunctive construction after *volo* he nearly always leaves out *ut*, as here. Remark also that the subject of the dependent verb, if expressed, always precedes the words *velim*, *vellem*, *malim* and the like, as in the present passage; cf. also Tusc. 5, 20 *nos velim praemio elicere [illegible]*, and Fam. 15, 3, 2.

25 *Laelium...putes:* the omission of a conjunction to connect two clauses together is particularly common in Cic. when two clauses are contrasted, as here and below, *ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius;* cf. 40, l. 32; 69, p. 50, l. 5; 13, l. 16; 19, l. 29; 22, l. 27; 90, l. 18. In ll. 32, 33 however (below), the clauses are not contrasted, but parallel.

27 *disputatio:* here not 'discussion', but merely 'discourse'; cf. De Or. 2, 233 *disputes quid sentias;* also n. on 4, l. 13.

28 *te ipse cognosces:* 'you will recognise your own likeness'. Cf. 10, l. 12 *me ipse consider;* also 59, l. 20; 80, l. 4. In these places *ipse*, not *ipsum*, is put, because there is an implied contrast between the subject of the verb and other persons, so that *ipse* = καὶ αὐτός; here 'you yourself, as well as others'.

§ 6.

29 *sunt ista:* 'what you say is true'; *sunt ista* (ἔστι ταῦτα) and *sunt ista vera* being equivalent expressions. The phrases *esto* ('be it granted') and *verum esto* are frequently interchanged, as in Cic. Flacc. 71, 72, 95; cf. also N. D. 1, 60 *quid non sit, quid sit;* Acad. 1, 134 *tum hoc mihi probabilius, tum illud videtur, et tamen nisi alterutrum sit, virtutem plane iacere puto.* In two passages of the Academica containing *esse* or *verum esse*, MSS readings have been wrongly tampered with by editors. In 2, 10 *dicam enim nec mea nec ea in quibus, si non fuerint, non vinci me malim quam vincere,* there is not the slightest need to insert *vera* after *fuerint;* while in 1, 43 *verum esse autem arbitror correctionem veteris Academiae putandam* (*sc. hanc rationem*), it is altogether unnecessary to expunge either *verum* or *autem*, the sense being 'I believe it however to be true that the system should be looked upon as a reform of the Old Academy'.

30 *existimare...existimant:* the repetition is a mark of careless writing.

31 *oculos...coniectos:* the cause is given at the end of § 7.

32 *hoc: i.e. ut sapiens et appellaretur et existimaretur.* For the tense of *tribuebatur* see n. on 37, l. 2 *videbamus.*

modo: 'a little while since'; the expression is somewhat loose since Cato died in 149 B.C.; cf. the use of *nuper* in 13, l. 10; 24, l. 25.

33 *L. Acilium:* supposed to be the person mentioned by Cic. Leg. 2, 59 as a commentator on the XII tables, and probably a contemporary of Cato. By some he is thought to be the person named by Liv. 40, 31, 1 as commander of the left wing of the Roman army at the battle of Aebura in 181 B.C. Some read in our passage *L. Atilius*, a name about which nothing is known.

P. 29.

1 *uterque: sc. sapiens appellatus est* or *habuit hoc nomen sapientis.*

alio quodam modo: 'in a somewhat different way'; understanding *atque tu.* Cf. 25, l. 4 *aliud quoddam;* 7, l. 6 and 74, l. 14 *alio quodam modo;* 27, p. 37, l. 1. *Quidam* (like *quasi* in 3, p. 28, l. 2) is often used to indicate that the word to which it is attached does not accurately represent the writer's meaning. In the passages quoted above *quodam quoddam etc.* indicate that *alio aliud etc.* are too strong for Cicero's meaning. On the other hand in 29, l. 26; 45, l. 18; 75, l. 21; 59, p. 46, l. 32 the parts of *quidam* used shew that Cicero cannot find terms strong enough, and that the terms used are only make-shifts. The indefinite τις is used in the same two ways in Greek.

prudens in iure: Seyffert rightly points out that Cic. does not use *prudens* with a genitive. He might have added that the phrase *iuris prudens* (for *iuris peritus* or *consultus*) is not Latin, though *iuris prudentia* occurs, as in De Or. 1, 256, and though jurisconsults are styled *prudentes*. Cic. has *imprudens* with gen. in De inv. 2, 95, also *prudens ad* in pro Font. 43; and *prudentia* often both with gen. and with *in* and abl.

2 *multarum rerum usum:* 'a manifold experience'. Liv. 39, 40, 4 says of him *nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit.*

3 *habebat et multa:* for the reading see Appendix. There is a change of construction in the sentence; the clause from *Acilius* to *putabatur* requires to be completed by supplying something like *ergo appellatus est sapiens*, while the clauses from *Cato* to *ferebantur*, which are parallel to the former clause, have their sense actually completed by the words from *propterea* to *sapientes.*

multa eius...ferebantur: 'many instances where both in the senate and the forum he displayed either wise foresight, or firm conduct, or shrewdness in reply, were on every tongue'. The chief reference in *responsa* is to Cato's fame as a lawyer. According to old Roman custom he sat at home in the early morning, on purpose to resolve the legal difficulties of all who chose to consult him. This was technically called *ius respondere.*

5 *quasi:* 'almost'; cf. n. on *quasi*, 3, p. 28, l. 2.

iam: i.e. even before his death.

sapientis: observe this difference between Latin and English idiom: the Latins always say *nomen iustitiae, vox fortitudinis, appellatio prudentis etc.* where we use apposition—'the name justice', 'the word courage', 'the title skilful'. Cf. 92, l. 30 *nomen amicitiae* and for the same Cat. m. 5 (where Cato is speaking) *sapientiam meam admirari soletis—quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!* Note that the same term *cognomen* is applied to the inherited third name Cato and to the acquired name *sapiens*. In late Latin *agnomen* was applied to the latter to mark the distinction.

§ 7.

6 *te autem...esse sapientem:* this clause was really intended to depend on *existimant* below, l. 13, but owing to the great length of the sentence Cic. made a pause at *iudicatum*, and repeated the gist of the sentence down to that point in the words *hanc...sapientiam*, which are actually made to depend on *existimant.* The sentence is an example of change of construction or *anacoluthia.*

non solum...doctrina: here *natura* denotes the *intellectual* endowments with which a man is born, and *mores* his natural character; cf. 7, l. 7; 27, p. 37, l. 7. *Studium* or devotion to the pursuit of learning depends on *mores*, *doctrina* or attainment on this combined with *natura*. The two words *natura* and *mores* together comprise the whole *natural endowments* of a man, while *studium* and *doctrina* indicate his *acquirements*. Lahmeyer says that *natura* corresponds to *studio* and *moribus* to *doctrina*, but the following passage will prove him to be wrong: Academica 1,

20 *naturae celeritatem ad discendum et memoriam dabant,......morum autem putabant studia esse.* Cf. also (with my notes on the passage) Arch. 15 *ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse et sine doctrina naturae ipsius habitu...gravis exstitisse fateor etc.*, and Verg. Georg. 4, 5 *mores et studia*. *Studio et doctrina* is not an instance of ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, and should not be translated 'by *zeal for learning*', but 'by devotion and culture'; cf. Arch. 3 *otium ac studium;* De Or. 1, 22 *otio studioque.*

9 *reliqua:* this word is proleptic or anticipative, since its sense is not fully seen till we come to *Athenis* which completes the contrast. So *ceterus* is often used and λοιπὸς, ἄλλος in Greek; cf. 16, l. 21 *ceteris;* 22, l. 24 *ceterae;* 54, l. 17 *antea;* 41, l. 18 *deinde;* 55, l. 21 *cetera.*

septem: 'the seven', *sapientes* being understood, as in 59, p. 46, l. 32. So XII alone often stands for XII *tabulae* (Leg. 2, 59, 60), and Asinius Pollio has (in Cic. Fam. 10, 32, 2) XIV for XIV *ordines.*

10 *subtilius:* 'with more than usual accuracy'. *Subtilis* is often the exact equivalent of the Greek ἀκριβής.

non habent: Cic. in Off. 3, 16 denies the title *sapiens* not only to the seven, but to Cato and to Laelius himself.

11 *unum:* emphatic: 'one only'. Cic. nearly always leaves the English 'only' unexpressed, but occasionally he uses *modo*, and once (Acad. 2, 74) *tantum*, the occurrence of which Seyffert on this passage wrongly denies.

et eum quidem: these words really belong to and add emphasis to *sapientissimum;* cf. 4, l. 16 *et eorum;* 38, l. 23 *et eorum quidem.*

Apollinis...iudicatum: Socrates in Plato's Apology p. 21 A merely says that the oracle declared that no one was wiser than himself (μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι). The person who put the enquiry to the oracle, Chaerephon, a pupil of Socrates, was dead when the trial took place, but his brother bore evidence to the facts. Xenophon in his Apology § 14 (if it be his) makes Socrates speak more definitely about the oracles—ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον. In another part of the Apology by Plato (33 C) Socrates says that the life he followed had been enjoined on him by the Delphian god καὶ ἐκ μαντείων καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων. The Scholiast on Aristophanes' Nubes 114 gives there the actual words of the answer to Chaerephon: σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης, ἀνδρῶν δ' ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτερος. The latter of the two lines is also preserved by Diogenes Laertius 2, 5, § 37. Cic. speaks in four other passages of the oracle, viz. Lael. 10 and 13, Cat. m. 78, Academ. 1, 16.

13 *omnia tua in te posita esse:* the Stoic doctrine is here hinted at, that *virtue* is the only thing deserving the name of *good*, and that the happiness of the truly wise man is absolutely unaffected by external circumstances. People were curious to see whether Laelius would try to carry out his philosophy, and to appear careless about the death of his friend. For constr. *posita in* cf. 4, l. 16; 20, p. 34, l. 7.

14 *virtute inferiores:* 'of less importance than virtue'. This (see preceding n.) is not strong enough to express the Stoic doctrine.

credo: merely parenthetic, and without influence on the construction. The verb to be supplied for this clause is *quaerunt*, not *quaerere*.

15 *hoc*. 'our friend here'; so 32, l. 31.

quonam pacto: lit. 'on what conditions', *pactum* (*paciscor*) being properly something agreed on between two persons. The phrase came to be used in exactly the same sense as *quonam modo;* cf. 4, l. 17 *nescio quo pacto* with 89, p. 55, l. 32 *nescio quo modo*.

16 *eoque magis: sc. quaerunt.* The sentence from *quod* onwards is really explanatory of *eo*, which is the ablative of excess dependent on *magis;* lit. 'more by thus much, viz. that'.

proximis: 'the last'. *Proximus* is used both of the future and the past. Occasionally a word is inserted to define the meaning more nearly, as Fam. 1, 9, 20 *proximis superioribus diebus;* Tac. A. 1, 77 *proximo priore anno*, and also when *proximus* is used of space, as Cic. Orat. 216 *proximum superiorem pedem;* N.D. 2, 53 *proximum inferiorem orbem*.

Bruti: D. Iunius Brutus, surnamed Gallaecus, from his conquest of the Gallaeci, consul in 138 B.C.; cf. my n. on Arch. 27. He appears as augur only in our passage.

17 *commentandi causa:* 'with a view to practice', *i.e.* in the augural art. *Commentari* is properly 'to con over a lesson', μελετᾶν. For the custom cf. Cic. Div. 1, 90 *divinant Magi qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa atque inter se colloquendi, quod etiam idem vos quondam facere Nonis solebatis.* As the augurs required for their practice an open space whence they could get an uninterrupted view of the sky they usually met in some gentleman's park (*horti*) outside the city: cf. N. D. 2, 11; Rep. 1, 14 *in hortis esse*.

18 *qui...solitus esses:* '*though* you had been accustomed'. For this use of the subj. with *qui*, to express an idea contrasting with, or opposed to that of the preceding clause or sentence, cf. Brut. 127 *hic, qui in collegio sacerdotum esset, iudicio publico est condemnatus*.

diligentissime: 'most carefully'. See my n. on Arch. 9, l. 24.

19 *obire:* 'to attend to'; lit. 'to go to meet'.

§ 8.

20 *C. Laeli:* the addition of the *praenomen*, not usual in familiar conversation, gives formality to the address: cf. 100, l. 10.

21 *id respondeo, quod etc.:* 'I state in reply what I have observed, that' etc. For this use of *respondere* = to put something into a reply, cf. Acad. 2, 93 *fateris neque ultimum te paucorum neque primum multorum respondere posse*, and the common phrase *ius respondere;* also n. on 4, l. 13.

animum adverti: animum advertere and *animadvertere* (cf. 27, p. 37, l. 1; 69, p. 58, l. 26) differ not at all in sense, and very little in use. *Animum advertere* is said to be necessary when the construction *ad aliquid* (to turn the mind to something) follows. Bentley on Tusc. 5, 65 denied that it governs a simple accusative as *animadvertere* does; but he was wrong.

22 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi:* the natural order would have been *viri cum summi tum amicissimi.* A word however which (like *viri* here) stands in the same relation towards two other words or phrases, is often placed thus between the two. The old grammarians called this usage *coniunctio;* cf. Cornificius Ad Herennium 4, 38 *coniunctio est cum interpositione verbi et superiores orationis partes comprehenduntur et inferiores, hoc modo: Formae dignitas aut morbo deflorescit aut vetustate;* also n. on 15, l. 9 *quocum...communis;* 32, l. 21; 52, l. 30; 61, l. 17; 84, l. 5; 95, l. 10; 45, l. 23.

23 *moderate:* the Stoics, whom Laelius followed, declared (in opposition to the Peripatetics) all ordinary emotion vicious; see Tusc., book IV, particularly § 42 *nihil interest utrum moderatas perturbationes approbent an moderatam iniustitiam, moderatam ignaviam, moderatam intemperantiam.* The Stoic wise man, however, experiences certain *pure* emotions (εὐπάθειαι), which have their counterparts in other men; only among these there is nothing resembling *pain* (*dolor*).

nec potuisse...humanitatis tuae: 'that you could not remain unmoved, and that to be so (*id*) did not accord with your cultured spirit'. *Humanitas* almost exactly corresponds in sense with our 'culture', *i.e.* education when accompanied by its best fruits, gentleness and refinement.

25 *valetudinem:* not to be translated by 'ill-health' or 'sickness', but simply by 'health', the English word being just as undefined as the Latin, which receives its definition from the context; cf. 22, l. 26.

26 *maestitiam:* this is the right spelling, not *moestitiam;* so *maestus* not *moestus*, *maereo* not *moereo.*

27 *recte...et vere: sc. respondeas.* Cf. Academ. 1, 33 *nos vero volumus, inquam, ut pro Attico respondeam.—Et recte, inquit, respondes;* also for the ellipse 1, l. 10; 33, p. 38, l. 33.

28 *officio:* corresponds to *munus* in l. 18 as *usurpavi* does to *obire*, l. 19. *Usurpare* is to say or do something habitually or repeatedly, here 'to perform regularly'. Cf. 28, l. 13, with n.

29 *incommodo:* note the slightness of the expression, as applied to the death of a very dear friend, and cf. n. on 10, l. 15.

constanti homini: 'a man of strong character'. *Constans homo* (Horace's *iustus ac tenax propositi vir*) is opposed to *mobilis* in Qu. Rosc. 49; cf. Lael. 64, l. 23 *constantem et stabilem.* *Constantia* (often coupled with *gravitas fides* and the like) formed an important part of the character of the ideal Roman. Cic. complains (Flacc. 36) *nullam constantiam in Graecis hominibus esse.*

30 *contingere:* here distinctly used of bad fortune, though the old traditional distinction between *contingere* on the one hand and *accidere*, *evenire* on the other required the word to be used of good fortune only. Seyffert rightly compares *contingere* with προσήκειν and explains its meaning to be (in the best Latin) the happening of something which is natural or to be expected under the circumstances. Cf. N.D. 1, 27 *non vidit, cum miseri animi essent, quod plerisque contingeret* (that being the natural lot of most) *tum dei partem esse miseram;* so Fam. 5, 16, 5 and Phil. 14, 24; also below, 72, l. 32; 48, l. 29.

§ 9.

31 *tribui: i.e.* by people in general.

32 *agnosco: sc. mihi tribui.* Nägelsbach Stilistik § 114 supplies *tanquam debitum mihi.*

facis amice: a polite expression of thanks, like *bene facis* in Acad. 1, 25.

ut videris: for the personal construction taking the place of the impersonal *ut videtur* cf. Att. 5, 18, 2 *consiliis, ut videmur, bonis utimur.* The usage is somewhat uncommon. See also n. on 56, p. 45, l. 30.

33 *nemo:* the Stoics attached such superhuman excellences to their σοφὸς or *sapiens*, that doubts were often expressed whether such a person ever existed in the flesh. Cf. 18, l. 7 and Tusc. 2, 51 *in quo vero erit perfecta sapientia, quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus neminem.*

P. 30.

1 *si quisquam:* like the parenthesis commonly used in Greek, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος. So in Latin sometimes *si quisquam alius*, as in Brut. 126.

2 *fili:* cf. Cat. m. 12 and 84. He was *praetor designatus* when he died and had served with distinction against Perseus, under L. Aemilius Paulus, whose daughter he had married (Cat. m. 15).

memineram Paulum, videram Gallum: sc. mortem filiorum ferre. Seyffert quotes Phil. 5, 17 *Cinnam memini, vidi Sullam*; cf. also De Or. 3, 133 *meminerant illi Sextum Aelium; M'. vero Manilium nos etiam vidimus.* In all passages where *memini* is thus used with the accus. of a person there is an ellipse of an infinitive. Paulus (Macedonicus) lost two sons, one immediately before, the other immediately after, his great triumph in 168 B.C. Cf. Fam. 4, 6, 1 *L. Paulus duos septem diebus (sc. filios amisit).* C. Sulpicius Gallus served as *tribunus militum* under Paulus, and was consul 157 B.C. He was famous as an astronomer and was the first Roman who predicted an eclipse (Liv. 44, 37).

3 *sed hi: sc. mortem filiorum,* or rather *talem casum tulerunt.*

in pueris: literally 'in the case of boys'. Trans. 'but their sons were boys, while Cato's was, *etc.*'. For the use of *in* see my n. on Cic. pro Balbo, § 6; also cf. 18, l. 3; 41, l. 14; 63, l. 4; 41, l. 19; 42, l. 27; 24, l. 23; 39, l. 31.

perfecto: this seems here merely to mean 'adult' in opposition to *pueris.* I know no parallel to this use, but there are good reasons for not taking *perfectus* in the moral sense which our word 'perfect' has. (1) Cic. though he has *perfectus orator Stoicus etc.*, would not say *perfectus vir* in this sense. (2) The meaning 'perfect' would make *perfecto et spectato* a ὕστερον πρότερον.

§ 10.

4 *cave...ne ..quidem:* Cic. here treats *cave* as a negative verb, and he frequently follows up negative words with negative, where in English we should use positive, expressions. Thus *negare...nec...nec* is regular;

cf. also 51, l. 25. For the subjunctive immediately dependent on *cave* cf. Roby, Gram. §§ 1584, 1608; Kennedy, Gram. § 197; also below, 47, l. 8; 17, l. 32.

6 *huius facta, illius dicta:* for *hic* used to denote the one of two persons who is nearer in time to the speaker, as compared with *ille*, the person who is more distant in time, see my n. on Arch. § 16. In *facta...dicta* we have the contrast between the life of action, the πρακτικὸς βίος, which the Romans regarded as the only proper life for a man of rank, and the literary or contemplative life, the θεωρητικὸς βίος. The Romans looked on all departments of thought and literature as graceful adjuncts to a life of activity, but nothing more. Cf. n. on 16, l. 19; also on 88, l. 29.

7 *habetote:* on this form of the imperative, erroneously called the *future* imperative, though it differs not a whit in sense from the other form, see my n. on Cic. pro Balbo § 17; cf. *quaeritote* in 24, p. 36, l. 2.

8 *quam id recte:* Cic. loves to separate *tam quam ita tantus quantus* by some small word, from the words they qualify. See my n. on Academ. 1, 26; also cf. 11, l. 27; 15, l. 14; 17, p. 33, l. 1; 23, l. 9; 53, l. 6; 63, l. 5.

9 *viderint sapientes:* 'how far I am right is for the wise men to consider'. The literal rendering of *viderint* would be 'shall by and by consider', *viderint* being not perfect subjunctive, but future perfect indicative. Phrases like this are carefully treated by Roby (Preface to Vol. II, p. CVI and § 1593), who has a very full list of examples.

movior enim: Seyffert is right in supplying *desiderio* from the preceding sentence.

11 *confirmare:* the sense is rather stronger than that of *affirmare*.

12 *me ipse:* cf. n. on 5, l. 28.

solacio: this, not *solatio*, is the right spelling.

13 *errore:* 'delusion'.

quo decessu: for the juxtaposition of ablatives in different constructions which seems to us an awkwardness, cf. my n. on pro Balbo § 26.

14 *nihil mali etc.:* the same opinion is expounded at length in Tusc. Disp., book 1. Cf. especially § 111 *nostrum enim et nostra causa susceptum dolorem modice ferre debemus ne nosmet ipsos amare videamur. Illa suspicio intolerabili dolore cruciat, si opinamur eos quibus orbati sumus, esse cum aliquo sensu in eis malis quibus volgo opinantur.* See also the reflexions on the death of Hortensius in Brut. § 5, and Fam. 5, 16, quoted on 45, l. 25.

15 *incommodi:* the word is here pointedly contrasted with *mali*. There is no doubt a slight reference to the Stoic theory of προηγμένα and ἀποπροηγμένα. Although only virtue is *bonum*, only vice *malum* in the eyes of the Stoics, still there are such differences among other things as will incline the wise men to desire some of them (προηγμένα = *sumenda*) and reject others (ἀποπροηγμένα = *reicienda* or *incommoda*), his real happiness, however, remaining absolutely unaffected. See Acad. 1, 36 and 37, with my nn.

§ 11.

16 *cum illo...praeclare:* 'who would say that his destiny has not been glorious': lit. 'that he has not been dealt with (*i.e.* by the gods or fates) splendidly?' Cf. 15, l. 3. also Academ. 2, 128 *quaeret noster sapiens ut vereatur temere opinari praeclareque agi secum putet si veri simile quod sit invenerit;* Fam. 5, 18, 1 *ea denique videtur conditio impendere legum iudiciorum temporum ut optime actum cum eo videatur esse, qui quam levissima poena ab hac re publica discesserit;* ib. 4, 5, 3 *non pessime cum eis actum quibus sine dolore licitum est mortem cum vita commutare;* ib. 4, 5, 2 *cogita quem ad modum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit;* also ib. 4, 14, 1; 9, 24, 4; Acad. 2, 80; Verr. 3, 70; Sest. 51.

17 *quod ille minime putabat:* 'a thought that he was far from entertaining'.

18 *optare:* rightly used here of a desire for the impossible; *sperare* would have implied that the fulfilment of the wish was possible. I have carefully drawn the distinction between the words in a n. on pro Balbo § 9, where see examples. Cf. also n. on 18, l. 8.

quod...esset: an instance of the restrictive or limitative or defining subjunctive, on which see Kennedy, Gram. § 206, 3; Roby, § 1692.

19 *iam:* strictly belongs to *habuerunt.* The word is often displaced, either, as here, to add emphasis to it (which it gains by being put close to *puero*) or to make the sentence or clause more euphonious.

20 *puero:* for this and other references to Scipio's life see Introd., p. 17 sq.

adulescens: this, not *adolescens* (which is the participle of *adolesco*), is the right spelling.

21 *factus consul:* some scholars wish, quite unnecessarily, to strike out the word *consul*, on the strength of passages like Mur. 18 *praeturam una petiit et sum ego factus prior;* dom. 52 *consulatum ei petere liceret, cum factus esset...* Cf. however Cic. leg. agr. 2, 3 *me esse unum...qui consulatum petierim, cum primum licitum sit, consul factus sim, cum primum petierim.*

22 *ante tempus:* see Introd. p. 18. *Tempus* here = the proper or regular time = καιρόν.

sibi: a so-called *dativus commodi;* 'as regards himself'; so 34, l. 15 *amicitiis;* 18, l. 15 *sapienti.*

suo tempore: a man is said to gain office *suo tempore* when he is elected to the office at the earliest age which the law allows.

23 *sero:* because the Numantine war had already continued eight years and had proved disastrous to the Romans. See Introd. p. 18.

duabus: Carthage and Numantia.

24 *non modo...delevit:* 'extinguished not only the wars then existing, but also those which were likely to happen' (*i.e.* from the action of the destroyed cities). It is of course strictly incorrect to speak of blotting out something in the future, but the incorrectness has a thousand

parallels in every language. *Delere bellum* for the more usual *conficere* or *profligare* is found also in Nepos, Alcib. 8, 6. [Mr Shilleto (in MS note) appositely compares Thucyd. 6, 91 καὶ Ἀθηναίων τήν τε οὖσαν καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν δύναμιν καθέλητε.]

25 *facillimis:* 'most affable'.

de pietate...liberalitate: it is impossible to give general rules for the insertion or omission of the preposition in the second and subsequent places. If, however, the preposition had been repeated here before *liberalitate pietate* and *bonitate* each of these qualities would have stood out with greater prominence and distinctness; would in fact have been more emphasized; cf. n. on 95, l. 13.

27 *nota sunt vobis:* 'you are well acquainted with all this'.

quam...carus: for the separation of these words cf. 10 l. 8 *quam id recte*.

28 *maerore:* the three words *dolor maeror* and *luctus* occur in one sentence of pro Balbo § 61. I repeat here my n. on that passage: '*dolor* is grief as felt at the heart, *luctus* as expressed by material signs, in the dress, for instance, *maeror* as expressed by the condition or action of the sufferer, for example by the gloom on his countenance. The following is a striking passage—Att. 12, 28, 2 *maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui nec si possem, vellem*'.

30 *memini...disserere:* n. on 2, l. 11. Laelius and Scipio are two of the interlocutors in the Cato maior, and Cic. strives artfully here to give an air of reality to the conversation he relates in that dialogue.

31 *mecum et cum:* cf. 3, p. 27, l. 21.

32 *viriditatem:* 'freshness'. For the metaphorical use of the word cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 304 *cruda deo viridisque senectus;* Tac. Agr. 29 *iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus;* Verg. Aen. 5, 295 *viridis iuventa.*

etiam nunc: even in the best writers *nunc* occasionally goes with a past tense, as Cic. Verr. 3, 47 *quos ego campos antea nitidissimos vidissem, hos ita vastatos nunc videbam ut*...In that passage *tum* would have been ambiguous after *antea*, so in ours *tum* might have been referred by the reader to the time of the conversation between Scipio, Cato and Laelius; so in Liv. 3, 19, 8. But often the motive is merely the desire to make the narrative vivid, as in Caes. B. G. 7, 62, 6 *incerto nunc etiam exitu signa intulerunt;* cf. ib. 6, 40, 6; Cic. Cat. 1, 9; Sallust, Iug. 109, 3. *Etiamnum*, which some editions have here, is a word probably not used by Cicero.

§ 12.

33 *vita..gloria:* 'his life indeed was such, whether we speak of it as lucky, or as famous'; literally 'whether in respect of fortune or of fame'. [For the ablatives cf. Roby § 1210, Kennedy § 398.] Cic. means that some would look on Scipio's life as merely shewing the effect of luck or chance, while others would think of the renown attending it and assume that Scipio deserved it. *Gloria* here implies *virtus*. *Fortuna* and *virtus* are the two important attributes of the Roman general; cf. pro Balbo 9

(of Pompeius) *in quo uno ita summa fortuna cum summa virtute certavit ut plus homini quam deae tribueretur*; Fam. 10, 3, 2 *virtute duce, comite fortuna.*

P. 31.

1 *accedere: sc. vel ad fortunam vel ad gloriam.*

moriendi sensum: moriendi is the act or process of dying; *mortis* would have a different meaning and could not be here substituted. Cf. Cat. m. 74 *sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est*; Phil. 9, 13 *si quis est sensus in morte.* On Scipio's death see Introd. p. 18.

2 *quo de genere mortis: i.e.* death so sudden as his; for the form of expression cf. n. on 4, l. 15.

3 *vere:* there is a loose contrast with *difficile dictu est*, which implies *nihil veri potest dici.*

4 *celeberrimos:* not 'most famous' but (literally) 'most attended by crowds', *i.e.* days on which Scipio was the centre of the popular interest. Cf. my n. on Arch. § 4.

5 *clarissimum:* for the application of *clarus* to things, as well as persons, Nägelsbach quotes Div. 2, 85; Att. 6, 1, 22 *clarissimi iuris iurandi.* Notice the emphasis given by the repetition of *diem* from *dies.*

reductus est: it was the custom at times of excitement for leading statesmen to be escorted to the senate-house from their houses and back again by their admirers. For the escort away from home *deducere* is generally used, for the escort homewards *reducere.* See Cat. m. 63, where the two words occur together, as they do in Val. Max. 2, 1, 9.

6 *ad vesperum:* with the prepositions *ad*, *sub*, *in*, the accusative of *vesper* is generally used and not that of *vespera.*

populo Romano: simply = *civibus*, the burgesses, as opposed to the *socii* and *Latini.*

7 *sociis et Latinis:* these two words must be taken together as forming one member of the enumeration, parallel with *patribus conscriptis* and *populo Romano.* When an enumeration consists only of two members Cicero, except in certain special cases, never omits the copula: when there are three or more members, he either puts *et* before each member after the first or leaves it out altogether. In our passage, if *sociis* and *Latinis* had each of them been entitled to rank separately in the enumeration, it would have been necessary to strike out *et.* Madvig has most thoroughly discussed this matter in a n. on Fin. 4, 56 and also in Opuscula 1, p. 333 sq. The practice of most other writers of the best period agrees on the whole with that of Cicero in this respect. Cf. n. on § 4, l. 5.

8 *superos...deos...inferos:* the word *deos* is purposely not placed immediately after *superos*, in order to prevent the reader from understanding *inferos* to mean *inferos deos.* With this arrangement *superos... deos* means, as Seyffert explains it, *superi, qui dei sunt.*

§ 13.

10 *nuper:* not quite accurate (cf. n. on 24, l. 26, also on *modo* in 6, p. 28. l. 32), inasmuch as the knowledge of the Greek speculations which denied the soul's existence after death had begun to spread among the educated classes at Rome long before Scipio's death. The Epicureans are chiefly, but not solely, hinted at. Some of the Peripatetics and also some of the New Academics held or at least sometimes advocated the same views.

13 *mortuis...iura:* the principal 'reverent rites' paid to the dead are mentioned in Cic. Leg. 2, 55 sq.; cf. especially 57 *multa religiosa iura.* Our passage has also much resemblance to Tusc. 1, 26 sq.

14 *si...arbitrarentur:* cf. Tusc. 1, 27 *caerimonias quas maximis ingeniis praediti nec tanta cura coluissent... nisi* ***haereret*** *in eorum mentibus mortem non interitum esse omnia tollentem atque delentem sed quandam quasi migrationem.* Observe the tense of *arbitrarentur* and *haereret*, for which modern feeling would require the pluperfect. Cic. realises the past (for the moment) as present, and so looks on the condition as not wholly past but still continuing. The usage is in fact similar to the substitution of the present for the past (for the sake of vividness) in historical narratives. Often *both* protasis and apodosis contain a verb in the imperfect where we should expect the pluperfect (*e.g.* Verr. 5, 89; Sest. 63); but it does not often happen that the apodosis has a verb in the pluperfect, while the verb in the protasis stands in the imperfect, as in Cat. m. 19 *consilium ratio sententia nisi* ***essent*** *in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri* ***appellassent*** *senatum.* Irregularities of the same sort are common in Greek conditional sentences.

ad eos pertinere: cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1, 10, 3 δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναί τι τῷ τεθνεῶτι καὶ κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν.

15 *fuerunt:* 'lived'. The followers of Pythagoras are meant.

16 *nunc quidem:* 'now, I admit'; for the concessive use of *quidem* cf. 74, l. 14.

tum: some adversative particle (corresponding to *sed autem vero* or the like) would be inserted in any modern language. This so-called adversative asyndeton is especially common in Caesar, as in B. G. 1, 18, 1 *celeriter consilium dimittit, Liscum retinet;* cf. also n. on 5, l. 25; 55, l. 22; 59, l. 32; 62, l. 58.

17 *institutis et praeceptis:* 'principles and maxims'; cf. Madv. Fin. 5, 7.

tum eius: in Cat. m. 78 Cic. appeals just as he does here to the Pythagoreans and to Socrates as authorities for the immortality of the soul.

18 *qui: sc. dicebat;* cf. for the ellipse 1, l. 10 *sed de hoc alias.*

non: supply *quotiens de hac re dixerit.*

tum hoc tum illud: the later Academics, particularly Arcesilas and Carneades, professing to follow Socrates, made a practice of arguing on both sides of every question, and declared that certainty was unattainable, though probable conclusions might be formed. They prided them-

selves on not being obliged to support dogmatically any set of views; while others were in bondage to doctrines, they only were free to put forward 'now this now that'. Cf. Cicero's Academica *passim*, but particularly 2, 134 *tum hoc mihi probabilius, tum illud videtur;* 2, 121 *modo hoc modo illud probabilius videtur;* also N. D. 1, 47 *Cotta meus modo hoc modo illud.*

19 *ut in plerisque:* the oblique case of the neuter adj. used as substantive is unusual where there is not some word in the context to clearly indicate the gender. To avoid ambiguity Cic. generally writes *in plerisque rebus* and the like, but occasionally lets the neuter stand. Cf. n. on 50, l. 7 *similium sui.*

idem semper, animos etc.: Cic. is thinking of Socrates as he appears in the dialogues of Plato, particularly in the Phaedo, Apology, Phaedrus, and Timaeus. The principal arguments in favour of the soul's immortality which are put into Socrates' mouth in the Phaedo are many times reproduced by Cicero, and especially in Tusc. 1, Somn. Scip. and Cato maior. In the words *esse divinos* and *reditum in caelum patere* Cic. recalls those arguments in favour of the soul's *pre-natal* existence which the Platonic Socrates usually joins with his arguments for the soul's life after the death of the body.

20 *ex corpore:* used for *corporibus*, since (both in Greek and Latin) when a number of persons are mentioned and then some one thing common to them all, that thing is often put into the singular, where our idiom would require the plural. Seyffert is, I think, mistaken in understanding *corpore* in the abstract sense of 'the body'. Cf. Tusc. 1, 40 *animos, cum e corpore excesserint:* ib. 1, 72 *animorum e corpore excedentium;* Cat. m. 81; on the other hand Cat. m. 80 *animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere, cum excessissent ex eis emori.*

21 *optimoque...expeditissimum:* cf. Tusc. 1, 40 sq.; also Plato, Phaedo 114 B. Diog. 8, 31; Sen. Suas. 6, 6; Sen. ep. 86, 1.

§ 14.

23 *praesagiret:* on this word cf. Cic. Div. 1, 65 *sagire enim sentire acute est: ex quo sagae anus quia multum scire volunt, et sagaces dicti canes. Is igitur qui ante sagit quam oblata res est dicitur praesagire, id est, futura ante scire.*

Philus: see Introd. p. 19.

24 *Manilius:* see Introd. p. 19.

adesset: observe the singular after *et ...et*, and cf. Mur. 15 *et proavus Murenae et avus praetor fuit;* Phil. 11, 27 *et Brutus et Cassius, multis iam in rebus ipse sibi senatus fuit;* Att. 4, 17, 4 *et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit;* also see below, 70, l. 19 *confertur.*

alii plures: cf. Brut. 36 *Hyperides et Aeschines et Lycurgus et Dinarchus aliique plures.*

25 *triduum disseruit:* the discourse is represented by Cicero's work *De re publica.*

de re publica: 'concerning the commonwealth', *i.e.* the ideal or best form of commonwealth.

26 *extremum:* this neuter adj. is used as a noun frequently by Cic. as below, 20, p. 34, l. 6; Div. 2, 91 and 103, also by Lucr. 1, 960, Livy, Tacitus, *etc.*

fuit de: 'treated of'.

animorum: observe the plural, where we use the singular ('the soul') in the abstract sense. *Immortalitas animorum* also occurs in Cat. m. 78, Leg. 2, 68; *aeternitas animorum* in Tusc. 1, 80.

quae: as only the last book of the *De re publica* (comprising the *Somnium Scipionis*) discussed the immortality of the soul, the neuter *quae* refers not to the whole work, but merely to the *extremum*. *Quod* would have been correct but inelegant. *Quae* is a sort of explanation of *extremum* 'the conclusion, I mean such matters as'. For the plural relative referred to a singular antecedent cf. the not uncommon phrases *ex eo genere quae* (Fin. 3, 70) and *ex eo numero qui* with plural verb (Arch. 31, where see my n.); also n. on 70, l. 9 *ea*. The usage is frequently found in Greek, as Plato, Rep. 554 A θησαυροποιὸς ἀνήρ, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πλῆθος.

27 *quiete:* = *somno*, a somewhat poetical usage, but occurring pretty frequently in Cicero.

visum: here the neut. participle used as noun, *not* the accus. of *visus, ūs*. The latter word occurs in Cic. only in one doubtful passage, viz. N. D. 1, 12.

Africano: sc. maiore.

id si ita est, ut: 'if the truth really is, I mean that'. For the explanatory *ut* cf. 70, l. 8; also 15, l. 18 *hoc ita necesse est.*

28 *in morte:* 'upon death'; *i.e.* immediately after death; cf. Lucr. 1, 111 *aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendumst* (*i.e.* punishments ensuing upon or after death).

facillime evolet: cf. *reditum expeditissimum* above. *Volare* and its compounds *ad- in- e- praeter- volare*, with *volitare* are particularly favourite words with Cic.; see many exx. in Nagelsbach, Stilistik § 132, 2. *Evolo* implies very rapid and sudden motion; cf. Brut. 272 *tantos processus faciebat ut evolare non excurrere videretur*; Or. 2, 209; ib. 2, 317.

29 *e custodia:* cf. Rep. 6, 14 *ei vivunt qui e corporum vinclis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt*; Tusc. 1, 75 *cum illuc ex his vinclis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur cursus animorum*; so ib. 1, 118; De Or. 2, 22.

cui censemus fuisse: the form of the question is like that in 24, p. 35, l. 29 *quid arbitramur etc.* (with which cf. Verr. 3, 156 *quid isto fore festivius arbitramur qui etc.*). *Censetis* would have been more usual; in many scores of similar passages in the speeches of Cic. I do not think that the first person *censemus* once occurs. Cf. Fin. 5, 50 *quem enim ardorem studi censetis fuisse in Archimede?*

30 *maerere.. eventu:* for the constr. cf. Tusc. 1, 30 *nemo maeret suo*

incommodo. If the ablative follows on *doleo*, *maereo*, the occurrence is regarded as the *occasion* for the expression of the sorrow; if the accusative, then as the *object* of the emotion. *Eventu* here = *fato*, as in Verg. Aen. 11, 758 *ducis exemplum eventumque secuti*, and often in Livy and Caesar.

31 *sin...veriora:* the omission of the verb (here *sunt*) is common with Cicero in short emphatic clauses, especially when the pronoun *ille* or *hic* forms part of the clause. Cf. Acad. 2, 86 *iam illa praeclara;* N. D. 1, 20 *iam illa palmaria* (so Bait. rightly reads); Acad. 2, 94 *si (sc. taces), quia obscura, concedo;* Fam. 3, 10, 10 *si illa astris signa;* N. D. 1, 25 *sed haec vestra;* Fam. 12, 2, 2 *sed haec tolerabilia, illud non ferendum;* also Lael. 20, p. 34, l. 6 *beluarum hoc quidem extremum;* 78, l. 20; 19, l. 24. For the constr. *veriora ut* cf. n. on 50, p. 44, l. 5.

32 *illa:* = *haec* of 13, l. 10.

P. 32.

1 *sensu enim amisso etc.:* the idea is followed out in Tusc. 1, 87 sq.

3 *laetabitur:* 'will exult'; *laetari* is stronger than *gaudere.*

§ 15.

cum illo...actum optime est: n. on 11, l. 16.

5 *fuerat:* *not* put for *fuisset*, and therefore *not* to be compared with Horace's *me truncus illapsus cerebro sustulerat* and the like. The pluperfect stands here where the perfect *fuit* or imperfect *erat* would have been more usual; *fuerat aequius* implies 'it had always been in our eyes more reasonable to expect'. The substitution is pretty common in Latin comedy, as Plaut. Trin. 119 *ei rei operam dare te fuerat aliquanto aequius;* Terent. Adelph. 685 *virginem quam te non ius fuerat tangere;* so often in Plaut. and Ter. *ut dixeram* for *ut dixi.* Observe that the real subject to *fuerat* is the whole phrase *quam exire de vita*, and that *in vitam* must be supplied after *introieram* from *de vita* below. [Fin. 2, 119 *erat* aequius; Tusc. 2, 12.]

7 *videar:* *sc. mihi ipse videar;* so in l. 16.

8 *quocum:* n. on 2, l. 17.

publica re: uses like this shew that the phrase *res publica* represented to the Romans two words, and not one compound word. Cf. Fam. 1, 9, 12 *res ipsa publica;* ib. 1, 8, 4 *rei totius publicae;* 64, l. 15 *reque publica;* *res privatae* and *res publica* are often contrasted as in Att. 9, 7, 5; ib. 1, 18, 1. Cf. n. on 42, l. 7.

9 *quocum...communis:* 'with whom I had a common home and served a common service'. For the collocation of the words cf. n. on 8, l. 22 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi;* for the sense § 100.

in quo...amicitiae: 'wherein lies the whole essence of friendship'. Cf. 92, p. 56, l. 31.

10 *voluntatum...consensio:* 'the fullest agreement in policy, tastes, and opinion'. The word *voluntas* in Cic. frequently means *inclination in*

politics. For the definition of friendship here given cf. § 92; also 61, ll. 14, 15, also n. on 20, p. 34, l. 1.

12 *commemoravit:*=*praedicavit*, not *recordatus est;* see my n. on Arch. § 29.

falsa praesertim: briefly put for *praesertim cum falsa sit;* cf. Off. 1, 137 *deforme est de se ipso praedicare, falsa praesertim;* Tusc. 5, 19 *propriis argumentis tractanda quaeque res est, tanta praesertim;* Lael. 26, l. 17.

13 *quam quod spero:* if the former construction had been carried on we should have had *quam spes fore etc.* The change, however, is of a sort common with Cicero, as Fin. 3, 25 *sapientia enim et animi magnitudinem complectitur et iustitiam, et ut omnia quae homini accidant infra se esse iudicet.*

14 *eo mihi magis:* for the separation of *eo* from *magis* cf. n. on 10, l. 8 *quam id recte;* for the phrase *eo magis* cf. 7, l. 16.

est cordi: for a full discussion of the predicative dative and a list of exx. see Roby's Gram., Pref. to Vol. 2. The name 'predicative' seems unsuitable here, for *cordi* is the *one* dative on the list with regard to which the substitution of the nominative (in the predicative sense) is inconceivable. Cf. 43, l. 8 *curae;* 70, l. 12 *honori.*

15 *vix tria etc.:* so Fin. 1, 65 *quod quam magnum sit, fictae veterum fabulae declarant in quibus tam multis tamque variis, ab ultima antiquitate repetitis, tria vix amicorum paria reperiuntur, ut ad Orestem pervenias profectus a Theseo.* The three pairs are Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades. The friendship of a fourth pair (Damon and Phintias, of whom perhaps Cic. was thinking in our passage), is celebrated in Off. 3, 45; Fin. 2, 79.

nominantur: 'are quoted'.

quo in genere: sc. amicitiarum.

16 *sperare videor...fore:* this clause simply repeats the sense of the words *amicitiae...fore* in ll. 13, 14. The tautology is illustrated by Seyffert, who qu. Brut. 313 *quoniam totum me, non naevo aliquo aut crepundiis, sed corpore omni videris velle cognoscere.* For *videor*=*mihi videor* (19, l. 21) see above, l. 7.

§ 16.

18 *istuc ita necesse est:* the *ita* is really not pleonastic in phrases of this sort, though often regarded so by editors. The sense here is *istuc necesse est, et eo modo quo tu dicis necesse esse.* Cf. Arch. 2 *hoc ita dici,* with my n. A number of similar passages are quoted by Madvig on Fin. 2, 17. So in Plato, Philebus 20 D ἐπειδὴ τοῦθ' οὕτως εἶπες.

19 *sumus otiosi:* the same reason for the discourse is given in Fin. 1, 14 *quoniam nacti te sumus otiosum.* According to Roman feeling it was not considered proper for statesmen to discuss philosophical questions except as a relaxation from more serious business. Cf. the exordia of Academica I and II and also of Fin. III, also n. on Lael. 10, l. 6. In Acad. 2, 6 Cicero says *restat ut eis respondeam qui sermonibus eius modi nolint*

personas tam gravis illigari. Quasi vero clarorum virorum aut tacitos congressus esse oporteat aut ludicros sermones aut rerum colloquia leviorum!

pergratum mihi feceris si etc.: cf. Att. 1, 20, 7 *per mihi, per, inquam, gratum feceris si in hoc tam diligens fueris quam soles.*

20 *spero item Scaevolae:* cf. 7, l. 14 *credo ex hoc item Scaevola.*

21 *soles: sc. respondere.*

ceteris: cf. n. on 7, l. 9 *reliqua.*

cum ex te quaeruntur: for reading see Appendix. For the personal *quaeruntur* put in the place of the impersonal *quaeritur* see n. on 35, l. 22. Trans. 'when questions concerning them are put to you'.

22 *disputaris:* cf. n. on 1, l. 6.

qualem existimes, quae praecepta des: these two clauses are explanatory of *quid.* Taking with them the words *de amicitia quid sentias* the whole may be translated, 'your opinion concerning the theory and practice of friendship'. In cc. V—VII, which correspond to *qualem existimes,* Laelius gives his view of the *nature* and *definition* of friendship; in cc. XI—XXVI he lays down *practical* rules and maxims concerning it.

23 *mihi vero:* this form of emphatic assent is common in Cicero's dialogues; *e.g.* Academica 1, 14; ib. 25; ib. 41.

id ipsum tecum agere: 'to make the same request of you'. Cf. 4, l. 4 *cum enim saepe mecum ageres.*

24 *antevertit:* lit. 'turned in front', or 'thrust in front', *i.e.* his request or his speech. Here trans. 'anticipated me'.

25 *gratum admodum:* = *pergratum* of l. 19.

§ 17.

26 *non gravarer:* 'would raise no objection'; cf. Cluent. 69 *primo gravari coepit quod...*

27 *praeclara res:* cf. 4, l. 5 *digna mihi res visa est.*

28 *quis ego sum aut...:* for the almost tautological form of the question cf. Acad. 2, 32 *nec vero satis constituere possum quod sit eorum consilium aut quid sibi velint;* Nepos, Dat. 6, 6 *cum quid ageretur aut quare fieret ignorarent.* For the sense, cf. Fam. 9, 18, 3 *ipsa illa si quae fuit in me facultas orationis;* Arch. 13 *oratio et facultas.* The word *facultas* implies *readiness acquired by practice.*

doctorum: here philosophers by profession as in 21, l. 13; cf. the words below, *eis qui ista profitentur.*

29 *eaque:* Nauck rightly remarks that *Graecorum* is a substantive and not merely an epithet of *doctorum;* otherwise Cic. would have written *eorumque* for *eaque. Eaque* = καὶ ταῦτα.

ut eis...subito: the practice belonged first to the sophists and rhetoricians, then to the philosophers of the New Academy. Cf. Fin. 2, 1 *sophistae...quorum e numero primus est ausus Leontinus Gorgias in conventu poscere quaestionem, id est iubere dicere qua de re quis vellet audire.*

Audax negotium, dicerem impudens, nisi hoc institutum postea translatum ad nostros philosophos esset; De Or. 1, 102 *quid? mihi nunc vos tamquam alicui Graeculo otioso et loquaci et fortasse docto atque erudito quaestiunculam de qua meo arbitratu loquar, ponitis;* so ib. 3, 127.

30 *quamvis subito:* 'however suddenly'; = *tam subito quam vis.*

magnum opus est: so in De Or. 1, 103 Cicero says of Gorgias *permagnum quidem suscipere ac profiteri videbatur.* For *magnum opus* = a great task, cf. Academ. 2, 121; Tusc. 3, 79 and 84; Orat. 75.

31 *quae disputari de amicitia possunt:* this refers to Fannius' words above, l. 21 *de amicitia disputaris.* There is a contrast between *disputari* and *hortari;* Laelius at first declares himself unable to give a scientific and philosophical discussion of friendship; he can only give some practical directions concerning it.

32 *censeo petatis: censeo* is wrongly explained by most editors (as Seyffert, Lahmeyer, Nauck) to be parenthetic, *petatis* being supposed to be a subjunctive used in the hortative sense. *Petatis,* however, is directly dependent on *censeo, ut* being suppressed, as it often is with *curo, cavere, sinere, hortari,* and many other verbs; cf. also n. on 10, l. 4 *cave;* 47, l. 8 *necesse.* Sometimes the *ut* is inserted, as in Caes. B. C. 1, 67, 1; Cic. Phil. 3, 37.

P. 33.

1 *anteponatis etc.:* for the sense cf. § 104.

nihil est enim: note *enim,* third word in the clause; had it stood second *est* would not have been so emphatic. Cf. 50, l. 7.

tam naturae aptum: for the separation of *tam* from *aptum* cf. n. on 10, l. 8 *quam id recte.* The phrases *naturae aptus, ad naturam aptus* are common in Cic. (as Fin. 4, 46; Off. 1, 100) and are of Stoic origin. The Stoics defined virtue as being τῇ φύσει ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν (*naturae convenienter vivere*). Cf. below 19, l. 21 *naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.*

2 *vel secundas vel adversas:* so Cic. says of literature (Arch. 16) *secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent.*

§ 18.

3 *nisi in bonis:* 'except in the case of good men'. Cf. 65, p. 49, l. 3, where *inter bonos* corresponds to *in bonis* here.

neque...reseco: 'nor do I probe the question to its roots', *i.e.* the question whether only good men can be friends. The Stoics had declared that only perfect men (*sapientes,* σοφοί or σπουδαῖοι = *boni,* since none but the σοφὸς is σπουδαῖος) could be friends. So Diog. Laert. 7, 124 τὴν φιλίαν ἐν μόνοις τοῖς σπουδαίοις εἶναι λέγουσι, and Aristotle Eth. Nic. 8 and 9 *passim;* also Socrates in Xen. Mem. 2, 6, 20. The phrase *ad vivum resecare,* literally 'to cut back to the quick', is here identical in meaning with the *subtilius disserere* that follows, and with the *subtilius quaerere* of 7, l. 10.

5 *sed ad communem utilitatem parum: sc. disserunt*; 'but scarcely so as to promote (lit. in the direction of) the general good'.

6 *sit ita sane:* this is a common *formula aegre concedentis.* So Academ. 2, 84 *ne sit sane*; ib. 2, 105 *sint falsa sane.*

7 *eam sapientiam interpretantur: sc. esse* (cf. 50, l. 15; 64, l. 24; below, l. 11); 'they understand wisdom to be a thing which...'; *eam* is by attraction for *id;* for similar attractions of gender see n. on 50, l. 10.

8 *nemo:* cf. 7, l. 9 and 9, p. 29, l. 33. The leading Greek Stoic philosophers hardly ever ventured to point out any actual person as having attained to wisdom. Posidonius (Diog. 7, 94) seems to have allowed that Socrates, Diogenes, and Antisthenes had made some advance towards it. Seneca allows Cato the younger to have been really *sapiens.*

ea quae...etc.: 'such things as form part of the experience and life of all; not such as are objects of imagination or aspiration'. A philosopher who propounds wild theories is often said by Cicero *optare*; cf. Acad. 2, 121 *somnia Democriti non docentis sed optantis*; Tusc. 2, 30 *optare hoc quidem est non docere*; N. D. 1, 19 *optata magis quam inventa*; Leg. agr. 1, 1 *cogitata sapientium an optata furiosorum.* Cf. n. on 11, l. 18.

10 *C. Fabricium:* C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul in 282 and 278 and censor in 275 B.C., commanded against Pyrrhus, and was famed for his integrity. One of Pyrrhus' suite is said to have made an offer to Fabricius to poison the king; Fabricius merely sent to inform the king that there was a plot against his life.

M'. Curium: M'. Curius Dentatus, consul in 290 B.C., conquered the Samnites in the third Samnite war (cf. Cat. m. 55) and also commanded against Pyrrhus.

11 *Ti. Coruncanium:* the close friend of Dentatus (see 39, l. 27); commanded with distinction against the Etruscans in 282 B.C.; in Cat. m. 27 he is mentioned as one of those *quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia.*

iudicabant: esse omitted as with *interpretantur* in l. 7.

12 *normam:* 'standard'.

sibi habeant: cf. the formal expression used by a Roman husband in divorcing his wife—*tuas res tibi habeto.*

13 *invidiosum et obscurum:* 'arrogant and unintelligible'.

concedant ut: when *concedere* means *to give permission to do something* it regularly takes *ut* with subjunctive, but when it means *to admit a fact* it is regularly followed by the accusative with infinitive. The subjoined passage shews the distinction; Rosc. Am. 54 *concedo tibi ut ea praetereas quae, cum taces, nulla esse concedis.* Sometimes, however, Cicero substitutes the subjunctive construction for the infinitive (but not *vice versa*) as in our passage and Fin. 5, 78 *si Stoicis concedo ut virtus sola vitam efficiat beatam.* In such passages the effect of the admission is rather looked to than the admission itself. The meaning here is 'let them make such an admission as to bring it about that these were good men'.

15 *sapienti:* a *dativus commodi*='for the benefit of the wise man', or 'as concerns the wise man'. Cf. 11, l. 22.

§ 19.

agamus etc.: 'let us proceed then with our gross wits, as says the proverb'. Another form of the proverb is *crassa Minerva;* cf. also *invita Minerva.* *Minerva* in these phrases stands for 'wits' or 'intellect'. The expressions *ut aiunt* (22, l. 30), *quod aiunt*, or *aiunt* simply (Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 64), also *id quod aiunt* (Terent. Phorm. 506) and *ut dicitur* (Lael. 97, p. 58, l. 3, and 101, l. 30) *quod dicitur* (67, l. 22) are often inserted parenthetically (like τὸ λεγόμενον) to indicate a proverb.

17 *fides...liberalitas:* these words must be taken in two pairs with a pause between the two (*i.e.* after *integritas*), in accordance with a fashion exceedingly common in Cicero. *Fides* and *integritas*, loyalty and uprightness, are cognate qualities, as are *aequitas* and *liberalitas*, reasonableness and generosity. Cf. Sest. 1 *eos qui omnia divina et humana violarint vexarint perturbarint everterint*, where the words *violarint vexarint* go together and refer to *divina*, while the last two words refer to *humana*. Other examples will be found in Mayor's n. on Phil. 2, 89. To them add *abiit excessit evasit erupit*, which is probably not an instance of climax, as is commonly supposed.

cupiditas libido audacia. 'passion, caprice, temerity'. Cic. generally (*e.g.* Tusc. 1, 20) translates ἐπιθυμία by *cupiditas* or *cupiditates*. He always uses *audacia* in a bad sense; cf. De invent. 2, 165 *audacia... vitium est*. Its use in a good sense is very rare in other authors.

18 *constantia:* 'strength of character'; cf. n. on 8, l. 29.

19 *ut:* = *quales;* so in 5, l. 23 *sic enim est habitus, sic=talis.*

sic etiam: cf. Cat. m. 20 *ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes.*

21 *naturam ducem:* cf. n. on 17, p. 33, l. 1. The sentiment is an echo of Stoicism. The Stoics all said that the true life was life according to nature, but they were not agreed as to the meaning of the word nature. Some took it to mean the natural constitution of *man:* others the constitution of the universe, from which by contemplation the wise man drew his rules of life. With the words of Cicero here cf. Arch. 15 *ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse sine doctrina et naturae ipsius habitu prope divino per se ipsos et moderatos et gravis exstitisse fateor; etiam illud adiungo saepius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam.*

sic: the adverb here takes the place of an object to *perspicere*, such as *tale aliquid.*

mihi perspicere videor: a modest way of saying *perspicio;* cf. De Or. 1, 11 *vere mihi hoc videor esse dicturus;* so above, 15, l. 7 and l. 16.

22 *ita...ut:* 'under this condition, that...'; so 1, l. 4; Tusc. 3, 59 *ea lege natos esse nos ut....*

23 *societas:* this is the doctrine of Aristotle in his Politics (φύσει ἄνθρωπος πολιτικὸν ζῷον), which Cicero repeats and expands in a hundred

passages. Cf. especially Off. 1, 50 and 51, where the different grades of social union are set forth as here; also Acad. 1, 21; Leg. 1, 23 and 61; Fin. 3, 66 and 5, 66.

ut quisque proxime accederet: sc. nobis, nos or *ad nos* (all three constructions being found with *proxime accedere* in Cicero). Cf. Off. 1, 50 *optime societas hominum coniunctioque servabitur, si ut quisque erit coniunctissimus, ita in eum benignitatis plurimum conferetur;* also for *ut quisque* Verr. 1, 1, 19; 4, 143; Off. 1, 65; and below, 26, l. 22; 29, l. 31; 46, l. 30.

24 *cives etc.:* 'fellow-countrymen are preferable to foreigners'. For the omission of *sunt* cf. 14, l. 31 *sin illa veriora.*

25 *alieni:* 'strangers', whether of our own or any other country. Observe that *alienus* is never used in good Latin with the sense of the English 'alien'.

natura ipsa: i.e. nature and nature only; her efforts not having been seconded by those of men. Cf. Arch. 31 *naturae ipsius habitu;* also l. 31 and 51, l. 17 *amor ipse.*

26 *ea: sc. amicitia,* not *natura; illa* would have been clearer and more usual.

hoc: = hac re; 'herein'; cf. 23, l. 4.

27 *propinquitati:* 'relationship', including the relationship of citizen to citizen as well as that of the members of a family one to another.

28 *non potest:* observe that Latin idiom requires the repetition of the verb *potest* in the negative clause, where English idiom would omit it. [So also when the negative clause precedes, as in 90, l. 17 *non capiunt, eam capiunt.*] Sometimes *item* takes the place of the verb, as in Orat. 147 *omnium magnarum artium sicut arborum altitudo nos delectat, radices stirpesque non item;* but *non* could not stand without *item;* cf. 62, l. 27; 73, l. 5.

29 *propinquitatis:* for the omitted adversative particle (*sed* or the like) cf. n. on 5, l. 25.

§ 20.

30 *maxime:* this qualifies *hoc,* not *intellegi.*

31 *ex infinita etc.:* 'starting from that undefined union of mankind, which only nature has knit together, the institution has been so concentrated and confined within narrow limits, that all affection is a bond connecting either two individuals or at least a small number'.

32 *res:* as in 17, p. 32, l. 27, and 4, l. 6.

angustum: adjective for noun, like *extremum,* above, 14, l. 26, and below, p. 34, l. 6.

33 *duos:* so right, not *duo.* See Appendix.

P. 34.

1 *enim:* the conditions of *amicitia* here given are so difficult of fulfilment that they account for the rarity of *caritas* (as above *inter duos aut paucos*) which is the kernel of friendship.

omnium ...consensio: in 15, l. 10 it is said that the whole pith (*omnis vis*) of friendship lies in the *consensio voluntatum studiorum sententiarum.* In the present passage the objects towards which the *voluntates, studia* and *sententiae* are to be directed are so described as to include all things in heaven and earth. The division of all things into *res divinae* and *res humanae* belonged to everyday talk and has no reference whatever to any philosophical system, as Seyffert tries to make out. Cf. the title of Varro's greatest work, *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum.* For the genitive *rerum* after *consensio = de rebus* cf. Roby § 1395, Kennedy § 163 B, also 86, l. 19; 37, l. 10; 34, l. 11.—Compare with this definition of friendship the following: Aristotle, Rhet. 2, 4 *ἔστω δὴ τὸ φιλεῖν τὸ βούλεσθαί τινι ἃ οἴεται ἀγαθά, ἐκείνου ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὑτοῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν πρακτικὸν εἶναι τούτων.* (Cf. Eth. Nic. 2, 7, 13.) Cic. Invent. 2, 166 *amicitia, voluntas erga aliquem rerum bonarum illius ipsius causa quem diligit cum eius pari voluntate;* Planc. 5 *vetus est lex illa iustae veraeque amicitiae ut idem amici semper velint, nec est ullum certius amicitiae vinculum quam consensus et societas consiliorum et voluntatum;* Sallust, Cat. 20 *idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.* Neither in Eth. Nicom. books 8 and 9, nor in Plato's Lysis, is any very exact definition of friendship attempted.

2 *benevolentia et caritate:* 'kindliness and affection'. These words are often thus joined, as in Sest. 6; Phil. 2, 107 and 112; Off. 1, 54. Cf. 32, l. 19 *benevolentiae caritatem.* Observe that the words *cum benevolentia et caritate* qualify *consensio;* cf. 3, l. 20 *sermonem de amicitia;* 66, l. 12 *in omni re severitas;* 51, l. 15; 61, l. 15.

3 *haud scio an:* in Cic. and the best writers this phrase is affirmative, meaning 'probably'; in later writers negative, with the sense 'probably not'. Cic. never uses after *haud scio an* either *quisquam* or *ullus*, but always some negative phrase; cf. 51, l. 23.

excepta sapientia...datum: cf. Plato, Timaeus 47 B *φιλοσοφίας γένος, οὗ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν οὔτ' ἦλθεν οὔθ' ἥξει ποτὲ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν*, which Cic. thus turns in his translation, at the end of the fragment of it which is preserved: *quo bono nullum optabilius nullum praestantius neque datum est mortalium generi deorum concessu atque munere neque dabitur.* Cic. frequently imitates the passage, as below, 47, p. 43, ll. 2, 3: Academica 1, 7; Tusc. 1, 64; Leg. 1, 58.

4 *divitias alii etc.:* cf. closely § 86.

6 *beluarum:* so rightly written, not *belluarum.*

extremum: for the omission of *est* cf. n. on 14, l. 31. *extremum* here = *finis*, in the sense of *finis bonorum* or *summum bonum.* The passage is aimed at Epicurus and his followers who *pecudis et hominis idem bonum censent* (Academ. 1, 6). Cf. 32, l. 14.

7 *caduca et incerta:* 'fleeting and unstable'; cf. pro dom. 146 *caduca semper et mobilia haec esse duxi, non virtutis sed fortunae munera.*

posita in: cf. n. on 7, l. 13.

9 *praeclare illi quidem: sc. faciunt.* Cf. Academ. 2, 94 *si habes quod liqueat neque respondes, superbe, sc. facis* (such is the MSS reading, which may be right, though editors change it).

10 *gignit et continet:* 'produces and upholds'; cf. 100, l. 10 *virtus et conciliat amicitias et conservat.*

nec sine virtute etc.: cf. 18, l. 3 *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.* This matter is touched on by Aristotle Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 7 πότερον ἐν πᾶσι γίνεται ἡ φιλία ἢ οὐχ οἷόν τε μοχθηροὺς ὄντας φίλους εἶναι; cf. 8, 2, 6 sq.

11 *esse:* emphatic; trans. 'exist'.

§ 21.

iam: = 'to proceed', as often.

consuetudine sermonis: cf. Verr. 4, 109 *cotidiana dicendi consuetudine.*

12 *nec eam...metiamur:* Seyffert rightly says that this clause is not intended to contrast strongly with the first part of the sentence, otherwise *non* would have been written for *nec* and *eam* omitted. The clause is really explanatory = *non metientes.* For the construction of *metiri* cf. n. on 97, l. 2, and for the expression μετρεῖν τι τινι in Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 14, 10.

13 *docti:* cf. 17, p. 32, l. 28 *doctorum.*

magnificentia: cf. Plato Symp. 210 D καλοὺς λόγους καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. So *magnificum* in 32, l. 15.

viros bonos: cf. 18, l. 6.

14 *Paulos etc.:* the plural in the sense of 'men like P.' *etc.* For *Paulos*, cf. § 9; for Gallus §§ 9 and 10; for Philus § 14.

16 *omnino nusquam reperiuntur:* cf. 9, p. 29, l. 33; n. on 18, l. 13.

§ 22.

17 *opportunitates:* the word *opportunitas* is 'opportuneness' rather than 'opportunity'. To say that friendship has 'opportunenesses' is equivalent to saying that it shews the characteristic of 'opportuneness' on many occasions. Cicero uses the plural of abstract nouns like this more frequently than any other author.

18 *vix queo:* Cic. always says *non queo* or *vix queo*, never *nequeo*, though he uses other parts of the verb *nequire.* For *queo* in an affirmative clause cf. 71, l. 26.

principio: 'to begin with'.

vita vitalis: it is not known to what work of Ennius the quotation belongs. The words are an imitation of βίος βιωτός. In his own style, Cic. would have written *vita potest esse nulla;* cf. 86, l. 32 *vitam esse nullam* = βίον εἶναι ἀβίωτον.

19 *quae...conquiescit:* 'which does not find peace in an interchange of kindness with a friend'. Cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 9, 3 ἄτοπον δὲ ἴσως καὶ τὸ μονώτην ποιεῖν τὸν μακάριον· οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἕλοιτ' ἂν καθ' αὑτὸν τὰ πάντ' ἔχειν ἀγαθά: Sen. ben. 3, 12, 2.

20 *quid dulcius:* the omission both of *enim* and *est* gives an abrupt emphasis to the question: also 55, l. 19; 30, p. 38, l. 3; 40, p. 41, l. 10; 25, l. 12; 99, l. 33. Cf. n. on 14, l. 31.

quicum: cf. n. on 2, l. 17. For the sense of this passage Seyffert well compares Seneca de Tranquill. animi c. 7 *quantum bonum est ubi sunt praeparata pectora in quae tuto secretum omne descendat, quorum conscientiam minus quam tuam timeas, quorum sermo sollicitudinem leniat, sententia consilium expediat, hilaritas tristitiam dissipet, conspectus ipse delectet;* Plin. Ep. 5, 1, 12.

21 *qui esset etc.:* *lit.* 'what sort of enjoyment of such importance?' *Quis* would have meant merely 'what enjoyment?' (Cf. n. on *gravis aliqui casus* in 84, l. 11.) As Seyffert points out, *tantus* is here only a rhetorical variation for *magnus*, and as *tantus* implies *quantus* there is really an ellipse. For the context cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 9 throughout, esp. § 2 ἔστι γὰρ ἡ παρουσία αὐτὴ τῶν φίλων ἡδεῖα καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ ἀτυχίαις· κουφίζονται γὰρ οἱ λυπούμενοι συναλγούντων τῶν φίλων.

24 *ceterae:* cf. n. on 7, l. 9 *reliqua*.

quae expetuntur: 'which are objects of desire'. Cic. commonly uses *expetere, expetenda* to represent the Greek αἱρεῖν, αἱρετά, which are technical terms common to all the later Greek philosophical schools. Anything which forms part of the *summum bonum* is αἱρετόν. Cf. 46, l. 29 *expetendas;* 80, l. 3, *expetita;* 31, l. 13.

opportunae etc.: 'are suited, for the most part, each of them to a single end; riches, that you may enjoy them; influence, that you may be honoured, *etc.*'.

26 *valetudo:* = here the *bona v.* of 20, l. 5; cf. n. on 8, l. 25.

27 *amicitia:* for the omission of *autem* or some such word (adversative asyndeton) cf. 5, l. 25; 13, l. 16; 49, l. 32.

29 *loco:* observe the simple ablative with *excluditur*. *Nullo loco* may however have an adverbial sense equivalent to that of *nusquam*. The adverb *praesto* in the preceding clause makes this probable, and the probability is increased by *pluribus locis* below, *multis locis* in 47, p. 43, l. 4; *hoc loco* in 67, l. 16.

intempestiva: 'out of season'.

30 *ut aiunt:* n. on 19, l. 15. Fire and water were fixed upon as the first necessaries of life in the *aquae et igni interdictio*, which was equivalent to a sentence of exile. Cf. Off. 1, 52 *ex quo sunt illa communia (officia); non prohibere aqua profluente; pati ab igne ignem capere si qui velit.*

32 *quae tamen...prodest:* a sidelong protest against the theory (§ 18) that only the σοφοί were capable of friendship.

delectat et prodest: so Horat. A. P. 333 *aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae.*

vera et perfecta: 'pure and faultless'; the τελεία φιλία of Aristotle (Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 2) also ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλία (ib. 8, 5, 3) and ἀληθὴς φιλία in Plato, Lysis 214 D; cf. *vera amicitia* in 23, l. 6; 58, l. 16.

33 *pauci:* cf. § 15.

P. 35.

1 *secundas...adversas:* so 17, p. 33, l. 2; 22, p. 34, ll. 21, 22.

2 *partiens communicansque:* the two participles differ very little in meaning—no more widely than 'dividing' and 'sharing' in English. In *partiens* the notion of mere division is more prominent, in *communicans* the notion of comradeship or partnership; cf. 24, l. 23 *in periculis communicandis.*

§ 23.

3 *commoditates:* very little different in sense from *opportunitates* in 22, l. 17. *Opportunitas* expresses rather the idea of exceptional appropriateness, *commoditas* rather the characteristic of usefulness as an ordinary fact.

cum contineat...tum praestat: the normal construction with *cum ...tum* is for both clauses to have the same verb or for the verbs (if different) in both clauses to be in the same mood and tense. The reason for the variation here is the desire to point out that the fact contained in the clause *cum...contineat* is one which has been already mentioned and disposed of. '*Seeing that* friendship furnishes very many and important advantages...'. *Continet* would have been appropriate had the fact now been mentioned for the first time.

4 *illa...praestat omnibus:* I take *illa* as ablative (*sc. commoditate*), comparing 19, l. 26 *hoc praestat*, and make *omnibus* neuter = *omnibus rebus*, the verbs *praestat* and *praelucet* having thus the same subject *amicitia*. Many editors, in order to avoid the exceptional *omnibus* = *omnibus rebus*, make *illa* (*sc. commoditas*) subject to *praestat* so that *omnibus* = *o. commoditatibus*, while *praelucet* has for its subject *amicitia*. The neuter *omnibus* used as substantive, though rare, is well attested; cf. N. D. 2, 36 *quae quoniam talis est ut et praesit omnibus et eam nulla res possit impedire;* ib. 2, 133 *ratio est enim quae praestet omnibus;* De fato 14 *non valere videtur in omnibus;* Liv. 1, 45 *formatis omnibus;* 3, 23 *omissis omnibus;* cf. also n. on 50, l. 7 *similium.*

spem praelucet: the verb *praelucere* is rare even in poetry and very rare in prose. The transitive use ('holds up the light of hope') may perhaps be allowed here, though the only passages quoted for it by the editors and lexica are Auson. Idyll. 4, 95 (*p. lumen*), and Plaut. Casina 1, 30 (*p. facem*). Plin. Nat. Hist. 32, 141 has *praelucent baculum*, *i.e.* 'sets on fire'. The only other passage I have noted is in Amm. Marc. 18, 6, 15 *p. facem.* [Cf. Tusc. 1, 95 *praelucere uenenum alicui.*]

5 *cadere:* cf. the phrase *cadere animo.*

6 *verum amicum:* so 54, l. 11 the word *verus* is to be taken in a less strict sense than in 22, p. 34, l. 32 *vera amicitia.*

exemplar aliquod: Seyffert well quotes the Μεγάλα ἠθικὰ 2, 15 ὥσπερ ὅταν θέλωμεν αὐτοὶ αὑτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον ἰδεῖν, εἰς τὸ κάτοπτρον ἐμβλέψαντες εἴδομεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ αὑτοὺς βουληθῶμεν γνῶναι, εἰς τὸν φίλον ἰδόντες γνωρίσαιμεν ἄν· ἔστι γὰρ ὡς φαμεν ὁ φίλος ἕτερος ἐγώ. Cf. also 80, l. 8.

7 *absentes adsunt etc.:* for the intended contradiction in terms (*oxymoron*; cf. n. on 85, l. 16) cf. Mil. 97 *gloriam: esse hanc unam quae efficeret ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus*, where edd. quote the epigram of Simonides on the heroes of Thermopylae—οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεί σφ' ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ 'Αΐδεω.

egentes abundant etc.: St Paul, Corinth. 2, 6, 10 'as having nothing, and yet possessing all things'; ib. 5. 9 'as dying and behold, we live'.

8 *difficilius dictu:* 'a harder saying'. The Latin like the English phrase is strictly inaccurate, since the statement is not hard to make, but hard to believe. Cf. Mark 2, 9 'whether is it *easier to say* to the sick of the palsy...' Cic. often has *incredibile dictu;* cf. Liv. 3, 5, 12 *difficile ad fidem est affirmare.*

9 *tantus eos honos:* for the separation of *tantus* from *honos* cf. n. on *quem id recte* in 10, l. 8.

10 *ex quo:* the antecedent to *quo* is not *desiderium*, but the whole preceding clause; thus *ex quo = ex qua re.*

beata mors...vita laudabilis: note the *chiasmus* (inversion of the order of the words in parallel phrases) for which cf. 5, l. 22; 47, l. 11; 65, l. 49, l. 1; 70, l. 12; 57, l. 7.

11 *laudabilis:* 'worthy of praise'; because the survivors do well in remembering their friends.

rerum natura: 'the constitution of things', *i.e.* the universe.

12 *benevolentiae coniunctionem:* 'the bond of goodwill'; *benevolentia*, the more diffused and weaker form of affection, is here contrasted with *amicitia* in l. 14, its more concentrated and intense form. *Benevolentia* here is Aristotle's ὁμόνοια in Eth. Nic. 9, c. 6.

13 *ne...quidem:* 'no, nor'; simply a stronger *nec.*

id: explained by the clause *quanta...sit.*

minus: here (and often) scarcely different in sense from *non.*

14 *vis amicitiae:* cf. 15, l. 10.

15 *percipi:* a stronger word than *intellegitur* just before.

quae enim domus etc.: cf. Sallust, Iug. 10, 6 *concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur;* Matthew 12, 25 πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται.

16 *discidiis:* so rightly written, not *dissidiis*. Most scholars now agree with Madvig in denying *dissidium* to be a Latin word.

§ 24.

18 *quidem:* often used like the Greek γε or γοῦν to introduce a statement confirming a previous statement.

doctum quendam: Empedocles (born about 485 B.C.). Cicero is very careful not to make Laelius betray too intimate an acquaintance with Greek literature. Cf. n. on 87, l. 5 *nescio quem.*

19 *vaticinatum:* 'sang in inspired strain'. The *vates* is *divino quodam spiritu inflatus* (Arch. § 19); cf. also *vaticini furores* in Ov. Met. 2, 640. *Vaticinari* is sometimes used by Cic. in a bad sense = to talk nonsense, to drivel, as in Fam. 2, 16, 6. The great philosophical poem of Empedocles, περὶ φύσεως, the title of which is borrowed by Lucretius for his poem 'De rerum natura', and which he greatly imitates, contained many passages that seemed to sober-minded readers to border on madness; cf. Acad. 2, 14 *isti exclamant mente incitati, Empedocles quidem ut interdum mihi furere videatur;* also Lucr. 1, 727 *carmina quin etiam divini pectoris eius vociferantur.* As the word *vaticinari* sometimes means 'to prophesy', there may be a reference to the fact that Empedocles claimed to possess prophetic and magic powers.

20 *totoque mundo:* this is merely explanatory of *rerum natura*, which has the same meaning. Trans. 'in the constitution of things and the entire universe'.

constarent...discordiam: the passage closely corresponds with the well-known lines of Empedocles: καὶ ταῦτ' ἀλλάσσοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει | ἄλλοτε μὲν φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα | ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ δίχ' ἕκαστα φορεύμενα νείκεος ἔχθει, where συνερχόμενα corresponds with *constarent* here and φορεύμενα with *moverentur.* Empedocles held that two principles were perpetually at war in the universe, one the principle of love or friendship (attraction) constantly tending to unite the scattered portions of the four elements, fire, air, earth and water, so as to bring things into existence, the other the principle of hate or enmity (repulsion), tending to decompose bodies into their constituent parts.

ea: of course the object, as *amicitiam* is the subject, of the verb *contrahere.*

21 *hoc:* 'this principle', *i.e.* that friendship is a uniting force, hatred a destructive force.

22 *omnes mortales:* here = simply *omnes homines.* Cicero never uses *mortalis* for *homo* without some attribute, though the usage is very common in Sallust, Tacitus, and the later Latin prose. Caesar altogether avoids the word. Cf. *mortalis nemo* in 18, l. 7.

et intellegunt et re probant: 'not only understand but approve by their actions'.

23 *si quando aliquod:* Cicero, like the other Latin writers, often seems capricious in his use of *quando* and *aliquando*, *quid* (*quod*...) and *aliquid* (*aliquod*...) after *si.* For *si quando aliquid* (*aliquod*...) cf. Verr. 4, 126; De Or. 1, 124. For *si quid* (*quod*...) *aliquando* Cluent. 140; Fam. 9, 17, 1. For *si quando quid* (*quod*...) De Or. 2, 240; Caes. B. C. 3, 82, 3; Suet. Aug. 43. For *si aliquid* (*aliquod*...) *aliquando* Acad. 2, 25; Mil. 67; Sest. 14. It is commonly said that when the words with *ali-* are used after *si* they are more emphatic than the simple forms; the passages, however, do not always bear out the supposition. Cf. 27, p. 37, l. 6 n.

exstitit: 'has been displayed'. Cf. n. on 27, p. 37, l. 6.

24 *adeundis:* *i.e. pro amico;* in the one case the *amicus* meets the danger alone, and protects his friend; in the other both friends face it together. The use of *in* is the same as that in 9, p. 30, l. 3 *in pueris.*

26 *M. Pacuvi:* Pacuvius, the greatest tragic writer in Latin (*summus tragicus*—Cic. de opt. gen. dic. 2) was born at Brundisium about 220 and lived till about 130 B.C. Since Pacuvius probably exhibited no new play after his eightieth year (Cic. Brut. 229), and Scipio died in 129 B.C., the word *nuper* is very loosely used, as in 13, l. 10. Pacuvius probably never became a Roman citizen, hence Cic. calls him *hospes* as well as *amicus.* So Fam. 9, 12, 2 *hospiti veteri et amico* (of king Deiotarus).

nova fabula: commonly supposed to be a play called the Dulorestes (though Ribbeck and some other scholars deny this), of which a number of fragments are preserved. Cf. Fin. 5, 63 *clamores volgi atque imperitorum excitantur in theatris, cum illa dicuntur ego sum Orestes contraque ab altero: immo enim vero ego sum, inquam, Orestes; cum autem etiam exitus ab utroque datur conturbato errantique regi, ambo ergo igitur simul una enicarier comprecamur;* ib. 2, 79 *aut Pylades cum sis, dices te esse Oresten, ut moriare pro amico, aut si esses Orestes Pyladen refelleres, te indicares, et si id non probares quo minus ambo una necaremini non precarere.* The story was often handled by Greek dramatists. The plays of Pacuvius were all *palliatae* and closely copied from Greek originals, but it is not exactly known on what Greek play the Dulorestes was founded. It certainly did not follow the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides, which treats the same story. The *rex* was Thoas, king of the Tauric Chersonese.

29 *stantes plaudebant:* 'they (the audience) rose to their feet and cheered'. It has been generally supposed that Cic. here is guilty of a small anachronism, because the first permanent theatre at Rome was erected by Pompeius, before which time it is believed that the audience stood throughout the exhibition of the plays. The temporary booths, however, may have contained rough galleries; cf. Tac. Ann. 14, 20 with Nipperdey's n. With Cicero's words cf. Att. 2, 19, 3 *Curioni stantes plauserant;* Phaedr. 5, 7, 28 *in plausus consurrectum est;* Suet. Aug. 56 *filiis praetextatis adhuc adsurrectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum questus est.* Mr Shilleto (MS note): '*spectantes* Chr. Wordsworth: *sed* vid. Tac. XIV. Ann. 20; Val. Max. II. 4, 3'.

arbitramur: n. on *censemus* in 14, p. 31, l. 29; cf. also *arbitramur* in 48, l. 15.

31 *cum...iudicarent:* 'inasmuch as they pronounced'. Possibly, however, the right reading is *iudicarunt.*

facerent: sc. *si facto opus esset.* For suppressed protasis cf. n. on 5, l. 24.

recte fieri: to be closely taken with *iudicarent.*

32 *in altero:* 'in another's case'; the preposition as in l. 29 *in re ficta;* l. 23 *in periculis adeundis.*

33 *hactenus:* 'up to this point', 'within these limits'; contrasted with *si quae praeterea sunt.*

de amicitia quid sentirem: for the arrangement of the words cf. 14, l. 26 *de immortalitate animorum quae;* also 16, l. 21 *de amicitia quid sentias.* Observe the tense of *sentirem,* and note the difference to the sense which would be made by substituting *sensissem.*

P. 23.

2 *ab eis etc.:* cf. § 17.

ista disputant: n. on 1, l. 6.

quaeritote: n. on 10, l. 7 *habetote.*

§ 25.

3 *nos autem: sc. quaeremus.* It very seldom happens in Latin that a verb in the indicative or subjunctive, or indeed a verb at all, has to be supplied from one in the imperative or *vice versa.* See an example of an imperative of one verb to be supplied from the imperative of another in Phil. 2, 118.

4 *saepe quaesivi: sc. quid sentirent.*

non invitus: as in 4, l. 7.

5 *filum:* all languages have metaphors resembling this. Cf. De Or. 3, 103 *filo et genere ipso orationis;* ib. 2, 93 *omnes erant uberiore filo;* Orat. 124 *argumentandi tenue filum;* Fam. 9, 12, 2 *munusculum crasso filo;* Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 225 *tenui deducta poemata filo.*

6 *tum...si:* used here like the commoner *ita...si;* cf. 53, l. 5 *si forte ceciderint tum intellegitur;* 51, l. 18.

si nuper affuisses: but in the dialogue De re publica 1, 18 Fannius appears as one of the listeners. He may not have been represented as present at the discussions in the subsequent books, which are only preserved in a fragmentary state. In § 14 Cic. seems to indicate the absence of Fannius.

8 *patronus iustitiae:* 'advocate of justice'. The question was whether justice was an absolutely necessary foundation for a state.

10 *iustitiam iustissimo:* cf. 5, l. 20 *ad amicum amicissimus.*

12 *quid?* For the punctuation see Appendix.

nonne facile: sc. est defendere. For omission of *est* cf. 22, l. 20.

13 *iustitia:* MSS and edd. *iustitiaque.* I have struck out the *que* as being against Cicero's usage. See n. on 12, l. 6.

14 *ceperit:* note the different sense which *cepit* would here have had.

§ 26.

15 *vim...afferre:* 'why, this is violence you are applying to me'. A form of answer often used in reply to very pressing entreaties; cf. Terent. Adelph. 5, 8, 19 (l. 943) *non omittitis? vis est haec quidem;* Suet. Iul. 82 *ista quidem vis est* (said by Caesar when first attacked by his assassins).

16 *studiis...obsistere:* the same kind of excuse for a philosophical discussion is given in Orat. 1 *negare ei quem unice diligerem cuique me carissimum esse sentirem, praesertim et iusta petenti et praeclara cupienti, durum admodum mihi videbatur;* cf. ib. 140.

17 *in re bona:* cf. 17, p. 32, l. 27 *praeclara res est.*

19 *mihi...cogitanti:* so the De Oratore begins—*cogitanti mihi saepenumero et memoria vetera repetenti perbeati fuisse, Quinte frater, illi videri solent...* So the second book of the De Divin.—*quaerenti mihi multumque et diu cogitanti...occurrebat.*

20 *propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam:* cf. 23, l. 8 *egentes abundant, imbecilli valent;* Arist. Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 2 *ἐν πενίᾳ δὲ...μόνην οἴονται καταφυγὴν τοὺς φίλους· καὶ πρεσβυτέροις πρὸς θεραπείαν καὶ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον τῆς πράξεως δι' ἀσθένειαν βοηθείας.*

22 *meritis:=officiis, beneficiis.*

quod quisque minus: cf. n. on 29, l. 31 *ut quisque minimum.*

posset: *sc. habere,* to be supplied from *acciperet.*

23 *vicissimque redderet:* 'should repay the favour in his turn'.

esset: was, *i.e.* from the beginning.

24 *proprium amicitiae:* 'inseparable from friendship'. *Amicitiae* is genitive, not dative; it is doubtful whether Cic. uses the dative after *proprius* at all. Cf. 47, p. 43, l. 12; 91, l. 21.

sed etc.: 'while another ground of friendship was more venerable, more noble, and more derived from nature herself'. Seyffert calls attention to the six successive words ending in the same vowel *a.*

25 *amor...amicitia:* the same statement in Fin. 2, 78; N. D. 1, 122 and below 100, l. 15.

26 *princeps ad:* so Arch. 1 *hunc video mihi principem ad suscipiendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse;* Phil. 10, 24; Sull. 9. Trans. 'leads to the establishment of goodwill'.

27 *ab eis percipiuntur:* 'are obtained *from* those', not '*by* those'.

28 *simulatione...causa:* n. on 57, ll. 6, 7.

temporis causa: 'to suit the occasion'. Cf. § 53 *ad tempus.*

29 *fictum:* opposed to *verum* below, as *simulatum* is to *voluntarium.*

et: see on 30, p. 38, l. 1 *suaque omnia.*

30 *voluntarium:* 'sincere'; *i.e.* the real expression of the will or feeling.

§ 27.

31 *ab indigentia orta:* Cic. probably did not use *ortus* with abl. without the preposition (though our MSS give a few instances). Lahmeyer's note, therefore, which accounts for the preposition here by supposing *natura* and *indigentia* to be personified, is mistaken.

potius...magis: the difference in sense between these two words is in use frequently obliterated, but *potius* strictly means *better,* and therefore ought to indicate that of two alternatives one is *preferred by some individual* to the other, while *magis* strictly means *more,* and ought to have no direct reference to choice. Cf. also 76, p. 52, l. 4 n.

applicatione...cogitatione: these ablatives are not dependent on *orta,* but are ablatives of the means or instrument. Trans. 'more through a leaning of the mind influenced by (*cum*) a feeling of affection than

through meditation upon the extent of the advantage such an attachment (*illa res*) was likely to bring'.

applicatione animi: lit. 'bending of the mind towards something'. Neither lexica nor editors quote any other passage where *applicatio* is used except in the legal phrase *ius applicationis;* but the phrases *applicare se* or *animum ad aliquem* or *aliquam rem* are common; cf. closely 48, ll. 27—29; also 32, ll. 20—22; 100, ll. 10—12.

33 *quod etc.;* 'the nature of this principle may be perceived in the case of animals'. For *quod quidem quale sit* cf. Academ. 2, 124 *quod intellegi quale sit vix potest.*

P. 37.

1 *quibusdam:* the limitation (for which see n. on 6, p. 29, l. 1) is due to the fact (insisted on in N. D. 2, 129) that many creatures abandon their eggs when laid.

animadverti: n. on 8, l. 21.

2 *ex se natos:* Lahm. quotes N. D. 2, 62 *ex nobis natos liberos vocamus.*

ita amant: cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. 8. 1, 3 φύσει τ' ἐνυπάρχειν ἔοικε πρὸς τὸ γεγεννημένον τῷ γεννήσαντι (ἡ φιλία)· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὄρνεοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ζώων, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσι πρὸς ἄλληλα· καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

ad quoddam tempus: N. D. 2, 129 *usque ad eum finem dum possint se ipsi defendere;* so in 53, l. 5 *ad tempus.*

3 *sensus:* 'feeling', or 'impulse', *i.e.* as opposed to the calculation of advantages mentioned above.

5 *quae dirimi non potest:* this is contrasted with *ad quoddam tempus* above.

6 *similis sensus amoris: i. e. sensus amoris caritati parentum similis;* for the brevity (common in comparisons) cf. n. on 32, l. 26 *quam ab imbecillitate.*

exstitit: 'has arisen'. Note that *exsistere* does not mean *to exist* but *to come into existence.*

si aliquem: si has almost the same sense as *cum* here, and was perhaps used because the repetition of *cum* would have been awkward. *Aliquem* after *si* is perhaps more vivid than *quem:* trans. 'some actual person'. Cf. 88, l. 18; 24, l. 23 n.

7 *moribus et natura:* the collocation *natura et moribus* is more natural and common. Cf. 7, l. 6 with n.

8 *quasi:* serves, as usual, to soften the metaphor (n. on 3, p. 28, l. 2), which however is a very common one; cf. Fam. 12, 5, 3 *virtutis tuae lumen;* Off. 1, 103 *probi ingeni lumen;* also Lael. 100, l. 10 *virtus ostendit suum lumen;* 48, l. 28 *si quasi significatio eluceat.*

§ 28.

9 *nihil...amabilius:* the same words are in N. D. 1, 121, with which cf. Off. 1, 55; ib. 2, 17.

11 *quos numquam vidimus:* cf. N. D. 1, 121 *virtute, quam qui adeptus erit ubicumque erit gentium a nobis diligetur* [a Stoic utterance].

12 *Fabrici...Curi:* for Fabricius and Curius cf. nn. on § 18.

13 *memoriam usurpet:* 'goes over his recollections'. *Usurpare* (= *usu-rip-are*, implying a word *usu-rip-us*) is strictly 'to seize on for use'; hence = to constantly put a thing into practice, or of thoughts, to con them over. Cf. 8, l. 28.

14 *viderit:* subjunctive because the clause is concessive:—'though he has never seen them'.

15 *Cassium: sc.* Vecellinum (cf. 36, l. 32). Consul in 493 B.C. and concluded a treaty with the Latins; consul for the third time in 486 and admitted the Hernicans to the league, but in the same year, having brought forward a *lex agraria* was suspected of aiming at despotic power, and tried and put to death (Liv. 2, 41).

Maelium: also suspected of aiming at tyranny, because he gave away corn to the poor. In 439 Cincinnatus having been made dictator, sent his magister equitum, Ahala, to summon Maelius. When Maelius refused to obey the summons Ahala had him put to death (Liv. 4, 14).

17 *altero...alterum:* in Off. 1, 38 Cic. makes the same comparison between Pyrrhus and Hannibal. The traditional Roman view of Hannibal is expressed by Horace's *abominatus Hannibal*, yet the charges brought against him can be thoroughly disproved even from the information preserved by Roman historians.

18 *oderit:* here fut. ind.; above subj.

§ 29.

20 *maius:* 'a more difficult matter'; cf. *maximum est* in 69, p. 49, l. 33.

etiam: this would naturally come before *in hoste*, but is thrust aside in order to get completed as soon as possible the construction *vel in... vel in.*

21 *quid mirum est:* like *quid magnum est*, as in Academ. 1, 6.

est ..si moveantur: a common form of the conditional sentence in Cicero; cf. Academ. 1, 7 *sive Zenonem sequare, magnum est.* The sense here is 'if the supposition be made that *etc.*'. Cf. n. on 13, l. 14; also 104, l. 22.

22 *coniuncti:* here no participle but a mere adjective: so many other past participles in Cic. lose their participial force; particularly *commendatus*.

possunt: the young student should consider how the change to *possint* (which might stand here) would affect the sense.

24 *beneficio accepto: beneficio* is here used in an abstract sense, for which the plural might have been expected. Trans. 'by the receiving of service'.

studio: sc. amici.

consuetudine: 'familiarity'.

25 *motum animi:* = *applicationem animi* in 27, l. 31; a narrower sense than that in 48, l. 17.

et amoris: for *amor* is *princeps ad benevolentiam coniungendam;* see 26, l. 26.

26 *adhibitis:* in sense almost = *additis.*

27 *imbecillitate:* 26, l. 20; 23, l. 8; N. D. 2, 122 *ne homines quidem censetis, nisi imbecilli essent, futuros beneficos et benignos fuisse?*

28 *ut:* 'the purpose being that'.

sit per quem: for the omission of the antecedent cf. 22, ll. 20, 22; also 65, l. 19 *est quatenus.*

29 *generosum:* lit. 'high-born' and so the metaphor is modified by *ut ita dicam,* for which see n. on 49, l. 33. So Tusc. 2, 16 *quaedam generosa virtus.*

30 *natam volunt:* 'are persuaded that it sprang'. In 48, l. 20; 98, l. 23 we have the *esse* inserted. For the omission, which is common in Cic. with *volo,* cf. Fin. 5, 13 *Strato physicum se voluit.*

31 *ut quisque;* n. on 19, l. 23.

minimum esse in se: cf. 26, l. 22; 46, l. 30; De Or. 1, 123 *ut in quoque oratore plurimum esset;* ib. 2, 122 *si quid est in me.* Here trans. 'the fewer resources a man supposed himself to possess, the more suited would he be for friendship'.

§ 30.

32 *ut enim etc.:* this question is discussed by Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 9. 9, beginning ἀμφισβητεῖται δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα εἰ δεήσεται φίλων ἢ μή.

P. 38.

1 *sic...ut.* notice this comparison within the comparison introduced by *ut quisque.*

munitus est: cf. the *edita doctrina templa* of Lucretius; also Attius quoted in Cic. Div. 1, 45 *sapientia munitum pectus,* and St. Paul's 'breastplate of righteousness'. Hor. Ep. 1, 1, 60 *hic murus aheneus esto nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.*

nullo: Cic. uses the abl. and gen. of *nullus* as substantives, to replace the abl. and gen. of *nemo,* which were not in use. He avoids, however, the use of *nullus, nulli, nullum* as substantives, and even prefers *nemo homo, sapiens* and the like to *nullus homo* and the like. Nor does Cic. write *nulli* (nom. plur.) by itself, since *nemo* expresses the same sense. Generally the Republican and Augustan writers agree with Cic. in his treatment of *nemo* and *nullus.* For other exx. of adjectives used as substantives see n. on 50, l. 7 *similium.*

suaque omnia etc.: for the sense cf. 7, l. 13. For *que* after the negative word *nullo,* where a modern would have been inclined to use *sed,* cf. 26, l. 29 *nihil simulatum est et;* also *neque*.. *et*...*et* in 80, l. 4.

3 *quid enim?* Like our exclamation 'why, now!'

Africanus indigens: the σοφὸς or *sapiens* of the Stoic system was αὐτάρκης, sufficient for himself. Chrysippus (Seneca Ep. 9) drew a fine distinction, that there was nothing the wise man *needed*, though there were many things it was advisable for him to have—*nulla re indigere et tamen multis illi rebus opus esse.* Cf. Plato, Lysis 215 B πῶς οὖν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἡμῖν φίλοι ἔσονται τὴν ἀρχήν, οἳ μήτε ἀπόντες ποθεινοὶ ἀλλήλοις, ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ χωρὶς ὄντες, μήτε παρόντες χρείαν αὐτῶν ἔχουσι;

indigens: the omission both of an interrogative particle and of *erat* renders the question more emphatic. For the latter omission cf. n. on 22, l. 20 *quid dulcius;* for the former De Or. 2, 276 *quid? ego non cognosco vocem tuam?*

4 *ac...ne...quidem etc.:* 'and assuredly neither was I in need of him'. *Ac* or *atque* at the outset of a sentence often introduces a statement emphatically. Observe that Cic. and the other writers of the best period never use *nec...quidem*, the place of which is often taken by *ac*, or *et*, or *atque* followed by *ne...quidem.*

5 *ego: sc. dilexi* to be supplied from *dilexit.* Cf. Phil. 2, 38 *sed et ego quid ille et contra ille quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat;* also below, 73, l. 3.

virtutis eius: the use of a genitive dependent on another is commonest in Cic. when, as here, the dependent genitive is a pronoun. Cf. 37, l. 12 *illius furoris.*

opinione...habebat: for the somewhat roundabout mode of expression cf. Att. 7, 2, 5 *erat (epistula) de re publica, de opinione quam is vir haberet integritatis meae: de benevolentia quam ostendit eo sermone quem habuit de triumpho.*

6 *fortasse non nulla:* remark the show of modesty.

habebat...dilexit: the change of tense should be observed; the imperfect denotes that Africanus was some time in coming to his conclusions about Laelius; *dilexit* points to the moment his decision took effect.

8 *multae et magnae:* when two adjectives are in agreement with the same noun Cic. *generally* connects them with *et*, where English idiom would often require them to be put side by side. When *multus* is one of *two* adjectives the conjunction is rarely left out (cf. Greek usage—πολλὰ καὶ κακά), but if *multus* is one of *three* adjectives the *et* sometimes disappears. Cf. Verr. 5, 119 *multi et graves dolores*, but Fam. 5, 17, 3 *multis fortissimis atque optimis viris:* Pro imp. Cn. Pomp. 6 *multa...magna et gravia bella.* Cf. however below, 49, l. 30 *multis inanibus;* 54, l. 12 *multorum praepotentium.*

9 *causae diligendi:* a somewhat pleonastic phrase; it would have been enough to say that *love* (not the *causes of love*) starts from hope. Cf. however Fin. 1, 42 *rerum gerendarum initia proficiscuntur a voluptate aut a dolore;* Tac. Hist. 1, 39 *initio caedis orto;* Liv. 32, 34, 7 *ab illis principium belli ortum est.*

§ 31.

11 *faeneramur:* there is evidence for this spelling, and *some* evidence for *feneratur*, but none for *foenerator*. For the sense cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 4 ἡ δὲ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον (φιλία) τῶν ἀγοραίων (*i.e.* belongs to mercenary persons); Fin. 2, 117 *nec enim si tuam ob causam cuipiam commodes beneficium illud habendum est, sed faeneratio;* N.D. 1, 122 *nulla est caritas naturalis inter bonos?... quam (amicitiam) si ad fructum referemus non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura quaedam utilitatum;* Sen. ben. 1, 2, 3 *turpis faeneratio est beneficium expensum ferre* (to make kindness a matter of book-keeping); Sen. ep. 9, 10 *negotiatio est non amicitia quae quid consecutura sit spectat.*

13 *in ipso amore:* for the change here from *amicitiam* to *amore* cf. 100, l. 15 *sive amor sive amicitia;* for the general sense Fam. 3, 13, 2 *mihi propono fructum amicitiae nostrae ipsam amicitiam.*

expetendam: n. on 22, l. 24.

§ 32.

his: neuter; =*his sententiis;* cf. 13, l. 19 *ut in plerisque;* also n. on 50, l. 7 *similium.*

14 *pecudum ritu:* n. on 20, p. 34, l. 6; Parad. 1, 14 *quae quidem mihi vox (voluptatem esse summum bonum) pecudum videtur esse, non hominum.*

ad voluptatem omnia referunt: 'judge all things by the standard of pleasure'; lit. 'carry back all things to pleasure'—a form of expression exceedingly common in Cicero's philosophical works. Cf. also *voluptate omnia metiri* (Fin. 2, 56; De Or. 3, 62), *dirigere omnia voluptate* (Fin. 2, 71).

15 *nec mirum: est* omitted, as often (n. on 14, l. 31); *e.g.* Academ. 2, 63 *ut etiam manus saepe tolleret: nec mirum, nam...* In 29, l. 21 however, *quid mirum est.*

magnificum: μεγαλοπρεπές; n. on 21, l. 13.

ac: cf. n. on 54, l. 11 *atque.*

16 *suspicere:* 'look up to'; for the metaphorical sense cf. Off. 2, 36 *eos viros suspiciunt;* Orat. 97 *eloquentia quam suspicerent omnes;* Fam. 10, 9, 2 *honores praemiaque vestra suspicio;* De Or. 3, 22 *si hoc quoque videtur altius quam ut id nos humi strati suspicere possimus.*

abiecerunt: 'have degraded'; cf. Leg. 1, 26 *nam cum ceteras animantes (natura) abiecisset ad pastum solum hominem erexit ad caelique conspectum excitavit.*

17 *contemptam:* here, as often, not 'despised', but 'despicable'.

18 *ab hoc sermone removeamus:* 'let us dismiss from our conversation'.

19 *sensum diligendi:* cf. 27, p. 36, l. 32 *sensu amandi.*

benevolentiae: see 20, p. 34, l. 2 *benevolentia et caritate;* 28, l. 13 *caritate aliqua benevola.*

20 *facta etc.:* 'when intimation has been given of moral worth'. Cf. closely § 27, last sentence; also § 48, last sentence, also § 100.

21 *applicant*: cf. 27, p. 36, l. 32 *applicatione animi*; 48, l. 28 *se animus applicat*.

usu: =*consuetudine* 'familiarity,' 'society'; cf. above, l. 6; 76, p. 52, l. 3.

22 *pares et aequales*: so 56, p. 46, l. 2 *pariter aequaliterque*; Orat. 123 *par et aequalis oratio*; De Or. 1, 83 *virtutes esse inter se aequalis et paris*. The word *aequalis* means properly 'even', or 'on the same level', *par* 'having the same quantity or size'; but in their secondary applications the two words become convertible; cf. Orat. 205 *imparibus an aequalibus*. For the expression *in amore pares* cf. Propert. 1, 1, 32 *sitis et in tuto semper amore pares* and for the sense § 69 sq. with the nn.

23 *bene merendum*: 26, l. 22 *meritis*.

24 *haec concertatio*: *huius rei* or *de hac re concertatio*; cf. n. on 2, l. 13 *eum sermonem*.

26 *quam ab imbecillitate*: =*quam si ab imbecillitate esset*; for the brevity of the expression cf. n. on 27, p. 37, l. 6 *similis sensus amoris*. *Quam* not seldom in Cic. precedes the comparative; *e.g.* Off. 1, 75 *quamvis sit eius nomen quam Solonis illustrius*.

gravior: 'more dignified'. Cf. 26, l. 24 *antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura profecta causa*.

27 *conglutinaret*: a metaphor of which Cic. is extremely fond; so *conglutinare voluntates* (Fam. 11, 27, 2); *rem dissolutam* (De Or. 1, 188); *hominem* (Cat. m. 72), *amicitias* (as here in Att. 7, 8, 1); *concordiam* (Att. 1, 17, 10); also Phil. 3, 28 *totus ex vitiis conglutinatus*; Cic. too alone of Latin writers uses *conglutinatio*. The simple verb *glutinare* is found only in silver Latin.

eadem dissolveret: cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 4, 2 οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον ὄντες φίλοι ἅμα τῷ συμφέροντι διαλύονται· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλήλων ἦσαν φίλοι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς.

28 *verae amicitiae*: cf. 22, p. 34, l. 32 with n.

30 *nisi quid ad haec*: *sc. dicere* 'unless you have anything to say on this subject'. Laelius was about to proceed 'now let us turn to another part of our subject' when Fannius interrupts. Cf. closely Tusc. 2, 42 *de exercitatione et consuetudine et commentatione dixi. Age sis nunc de ratione videamus, nisi quid vis ad haec*; ib. 4, 46 *exspecto quid ad ista*; ib. 3, 78 *ad Epicuri consolationem satis est ante dictum*; N.D. 1, 19 *longum est ad omnia*. See other exx. of ellipses of *verba dicendi* in n. on 1, l. 10.

31 *tu vero perge*: 'yes, *do* go on'. So Academ. 1, 18 *tu vero, inquit, perge, Varro*; De Or. 2, 124 *tu vero, inquit, Antoni, perge ut instituisti*.

pro his...respondeo: so Acad. 1, 33 *nos vero volumus, ut pro Attico respondeam...Et recte, inquit, respondes*; Brut. 122 *nobis vero, inquit Atticus, et vehementer quidem (sc. placet) ut pro Bruto etiam respondeam*.

qui minor est natu: cf. Acad. 2, 61 *te, hominem amicissimum et aliquot annis minorem natu non dubitabo monere*.

32 *meo iure*: 'as I have a right to do'; lit. 'by a right that is mine'.

§ 33.

33 *recte tu quidem:* the same ellipse in 8, l. 27; cf. also the passages quoted on l. 31.

P. 39.

1 *audite vero:* so De Or. 2, 28 *et ille: audite vero, audite inquit.*

optimi viri: a form of address which is commonly ironical, though not so here. In Cat. m. 39 Cato addresses Scipio and Laelius as *optimi adulescentes.*

2 *quamquam ille quidem:* καίτοι ἐκεῖνός γε; cf. 97, p. 58, l. 5. *Quamquam* seems to imply that Laelius did not altogether agree with Scipio on this subject.

5 *expediret: sc. utrique: sentiretur: sc. ab utroque.*

6 *saepe:* probably to be taken with *mutari*, not with *dicebat* (cf. l. 9 *saepe deponerentur*), so that *alias...alias* is an expansion or explanation of *saepe.* For *alias* see n. on 1, l. 10.

7 *aetate ingravescente:* 'as age grows burdensome'.

earum rerum etc.: 'he obtained an instance in support of such changes by comparing the early days of life, since *etc.*'. In *exemplum capiebat ex similitudine* there is the same kind of pleonasm as above, l. 8 *sunt causae diligendi profectae.*

9 *praetexta toga:* n. on 1, l. 4. [Cf. Ar. Eth. 8, 3, 4 and 9, 3.]

§ 34.

10 *perduxissent: sc. pueri amicitiam:* cf. Cat. m. 60 *nec aetas impedit quo minus agri colendi studia teneamus. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum produxisse (sc. studia agri colendi).*

11 *contentione condicionis:* for the construction cf. n. on 37, l. 16. *Condicio* (*conditio* is a mistaken spelling of the word) often means a proposal or agreement to marry ('a match') even without the addition of *uxoria*; Nep. Att. 12, 1 *nullius condicionis non habere potestatem.*

13 *quod si etc.:* 'but if they had lived on in friendship to a later time'.

14 *labefactari: sc. amicitiam*, which is probably also the subject of *dirimi* above, though Seyffert makes the subject of both infinitives to be the same as the subject of *perduxissent.* It would be possible to use *dirimi* of persons, but scarcely *labefactari* with the sense 'to be rendered changeful'.

15 *amicitiis:* a '*dativus commodi*' like *sibi* in 11, l. 22. Cf. Off. 2, 9 *consuetudo...honestatem ab utilitate secernens...qua nulla pernicies maior hominum vitae potuit afferri.*

16 *optimis quibusque:* so Arch. 26 *optimus quisque gloria maxime ducitur.* The love of fame is 'the last infirmity of noble minds'. In *optimi quiusque* we have a very rare usage. The best writers use only the neuter plural of *quisque*, and that with a superlative adjective (cf. 67, l. 20 *vetérrima quaeque*), not the masc. or fem. plurals. In Cicero (putting aside Fam. 7, 33, 2 *litteras longissimas quaeque* as exceptional

because *litterae* in the sense of an epistle has no singular) we have only one passage like the present, viz. Off. 2, 75 *leges, et proximae quaeque duriores.* A glance at that passage will shew that the reading *proximae quaeque* makes poor sense; I propose to read *proxima*—'laws, and harsher, each of them, than its predecessor'. In our passage *quibusque* may be used as ἑκάστοις is often in Greek, to mean 'each *set* of people'; or the plural may be due merely to assimilation with *plerique.* It may further be mentioned that Cicero does not use expressions like *bonus quisque,* or *melior quisque,* except when the comparative is preceded by *quo* (*quo quisque melior*).

§ 35.

18 *discidia:* n. on 23, l. 16.

iusta: *i.e.* with good reason on one side or the other.

19 *cum...postularetur:* for this subjunctive see Roby § 1722, Kennedy § 211.

20 *libidinis ministri:* Liv. 3, 44. 6 *minister decemviri libidinis.*

adiutores ad: the common construction of *adiutor* in Cic. is with a genitive of the thing wherein aid is given (but dative of the person to whom aid is given, as in 42, p. 42, l. 2); cf. however Flacc. 1 *adiutor ad rem perficiendam. Adiuvare ad, adiumentum ad* often occur.

quod etc.: 'since those who declined, however honourable their action was, were by those whom they refused to obey charged with disregarding the claims of friendship'. Madvig, Em. Liv. p. 417 ed. 2, seems to misunderstand this passage, through taking *quod* as the neuter pronoun, instead of the conjunction; so others, Halm included.

22 *deserere:* for the infinitive dependent on the personal *arguerentur* instead of the impersonal construction *argueretur eos deserere,* cf. n. on 9, p. 29, l. 32 *ut videris;* also Rosc. Am. 37 *Roscius arguitur occidisse patrem;* also *quaeruntur* in 16, l. 21; *constituendi sunt* in 56, p. 45, l. 30; *perspiciuntur* in 63, l. 5.

23 *quidvis:* 'anything and everything'.

24 *omnia:* not different in sense from *quidvis* above. Cf. Att. 9, 18, 3 *ad omnia descensurum* ('would stick at nothing').

25 *inveterata:* 'undying'; often used with *ira, odium etc.*

26 *sempiterna:* in contrast to *amicitiae sempiternae* in 32, l. 29.

haec etc.: 'these almost destined ends threaten friendships, he said, in such numbers that *etc.*'. *Quasi* merely modifies the metaphor (n. on 3, p. 28, l. 2); *fatum* is used very much in its poetical sense of *mors* or *interitus.*

28 *diceret sibi videri:* these words take the place of *esset,* which would be used if the sentence were entirely logical. Cf. De Or. 2, 278 *illud Siculi cui cum familiaris quidam quereretur quod diceret uxorem suam suspendisse se de ficu* .. Similar examples are exceedingly common in Cicero; see some in Roby § 1746. [Cf. Madv. on Fin. 4, 17.]

§ 36.

29 *quatenus etc.:* this paragraph is really inconsistent with § 18 where Laelius says *sentio nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.* Trans. here 'how far affection should lead us to proceed in dealing with friendship'. Cf. 56, p. 45, l. 30 *qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi;* and for *progredi* 34, l. 13 *in amicitia provecti:* the limits of friendly service are discussed also in Off. 3, 43.

30 *numne:* a rare form, found in N. D. 1, 88 *quid? deum ipsum numne vidisti?*

32 *Vecellinum...Maelium:* nn. on § 28.

§ 37. P. 40.

1 *vexantem:* Cicero uniformly speaks of the Gracchi as traitors and *iure caesi.*

Tuberone: son of a sister of Africanus minor; plebeian tribune in 133; a great opponent of Gracchus; a strict Stoic.

aequalibus amicis: 'those of his contemporaries who were his friends'. Carbo and Cato, mentioned at the end of § 39, were only *prope aequales* (Brut. 96).

2 *videbamus:* the imperfect because referred to *vexantem;* 'we saw him during the whole of his seditious action'; cf. 6, p. 28, l. 32 *triumphabatur.* [Cf. my n. on Cato m. 49.]

3 *Cumanus...hospes: Cumae* did not receive the Roman franchise till after the Social War. The Blosii or Blossii were a noble family at Cumae (Cic. leg. agr. 2, 93; Liv. 23, 7, 8; 27, 3, 5). This member of the family was a Stoic philosopher and pupil of Antipater of Tarsus.

4 *aderam...in consilio:* 'was present as one of the advisers to...' The *consilium* was a most important institution both in the public and private life of the Romans. There was deeply ingrained in the Roman mind a feeling that no person having serious business to transact, whether private or official, ought to proceed without taking the opinion of those best qualified to advise him. The body of advisers is the *consilium.* The senate was the *consilium* of the king, and then became the standing *consilium* of the consuls. Officials exercising judicial functions generally summoned to their aid leading lawyers; in the case here mentioned, as the trials were political, statesmen of experience were resorted to.

Laenati...Rupilio: consuls of the year 132 when the enquiry into the acts of Gracchus and his followers took place. For Rupilius cf. § 73 and Introd. p. 19. Of Laelius Val. Max. 4, 7, 1 says *consilio eius consules* (*Rupilius* and *Laenas*) *praecipue utebantur.*

6 *fecisset...putaret: faceret* could not have been written because Gracchus was dead, but the mind having once been carried back to the past, it is permissible to use the imperfects *vellet* and *putaret* to denote that so long as Gracchus *continued* to live, the opinion of Blossius *continued* as here described.

7 *etiamne: sc. hoc putares?*

9 *videtis quam nefaria vox:* for the omission of *sit* cf. Off. 1, 152 *comparatio de duobus, utrum honestius.* Seyffert, and after him Lahmeyer and Nauck, makes the words *quam nefaria vox* interjectional and not dependent on *videtis.* Cf. also n. on 96, l. 24.

10 *dixit: sc. se fuisse facturum.*

11 *temeritati:* 'infatuation'.

12 *comitem...ducem*: cf. 96, ll. 19, 20; Fam. 10, 3, 2 *duce natura comite fortuna;* Balb. 9 *non duces sed comites;* Flacc. 5; Marcell. 11.

illius furoris: n. on 30, p. 38, l. 5 *virtutis eius.*

hac amentia etc.: observe that in this sentence the clauses are not connected by particles. The omission is intentional, suiting the haste of Blossius. *Hac amentia* = 'in this mad state'.

13 *quaestione nova:* 'special court of enquiry'. For *nova* is usually written (with *quaestio*) *extra ordinem*, or *extraordinaria.*

in Asiam...ad hostis: he joined Aristonicus, the pretender to the throne of Pergamus, then in arms against the Romans. When Aristonicus was finally defeated, Blossius committed suicide, as his Stoic tenets permitted him to do.

14 *rei publicae:* the country is the offended party, and the penalty is regarded as a *debt* due to it.

15 *peccati:* a stronger word than *culpa;* a translation of the Stoic ἁμαρτήματος = sin.

si...peccaveris: 'if you have sinned in the interest of your friend, that is no justification of your sin'.

16 *conciliatrix:* Cic. is particularly fond of these feminine nouns in *-trix*, many of which he manufactured himself; he frequently applies them, as here, to inanimate objects; cf. 89, p. 56, l. 8 *assentatio adiutrix.* *Conciliatrix* occurs in Plautus in the sense of 'match-maker'.

virtutis opinio: cf. 98, l. 11; 30, p. 38, l. 5 *opinione;* also §§ 28, 29. For *virtutis* = *de virtute* cf. 34, l. 11 *contentio condicionis*· also n. on 20, p. 34, l. 1.

§ 38.

18 *si statuerimus...si simus:* double protasis; less awkward here than in many passages, because the *quidem* marks out the second protasis as distinctly subordinate to the first. Cf. pro imp. Cn. Pomp. 59 *qui cum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri...*

19 *perfecta sapientia etc.:* cf. closely §§ 18, 100.

20 *res etc.:* 'the practice would lead to no wrong'. *Vitium* here almost = *culpa.*

22 *vita communis*: 'everyday life', as in 18, l. 8.

ex hoc numero: = *ex horum numero*, the latter being a form of expression which Cic. very rarely uses. In De Or. 2, 56 we have *ex eorum*

numero qui; Vat. 41 *in illorum numero*. For the attraction cf. n. on 2, l. 13 *eum sermonem*.

23 *et...quidem*: here concessive, not affirmative; 'though especially of those...'

24 *qui accedunt*: these are the persons mentioned in 19, l. 19 as *viros bonos qui secuntur quantum homines possunt naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem*.

§ 39.

videmus: here, as in 56, p. 45, l. 31 and often, = *scriptum videmus*. Cf. Academ. 2, 129 *nobilis disciplina, cuius, ut scriptum video, princeps Xenophanes*.

25 *Aemilium Luscino*: Q. Aemilius Papus and C. Fabricius Luscinus (see n. on § 18) were colleagues in the consulship in 282 and 278 and in the censorship in 275 B.C. *Familiaris*, like *amicus*, takes a dative when it is treated as an adjective, and a genitive when it is a substantive. Cf. 60, p. 47, l. 1. For *Papum Aemilium*, the *cognomen* put before the *nomen* (a practice extremely common in Tacitus and his contemporaries), cf. Q. Fr. 2, 4, 1 *Macer Licinius*.

sic: the clauses *bis...censura* are explanatory of *sic*.

patribus: = *maioribus*, though in 6, p. 28, l. 33 (*apud patres nostros*) *patres* has the strict sense. Note the omission of *fuisse*.

26 *tum*: this probably has not a temporal meaning here, but = *deinde* 'next in order', as though *primum* had preceded.

27 *Curium...Coruncanium*: nn. on § 18.

28 *memoriae*: = *ad memoriam* in Verr. 5, 36. The best writers seem to say *memoria prodi* (= to be handed down by tradition), *memoriae prodi* (= to be handed down *for the recollection* of posterity) and *memoriae prodere*, but not *memoria prodere*.

igitur: here (like our phrase 'well then') serves to introduce a new step in the statement. The position of *igitur* as first word in the sentence is exceptional in Cic. though regular in Sallust and very common in succeeding writers.

ne suspicari quidem: this implies the contrast 'much less can we believe'.

29 *contendisse*: for the construction *contendere aliquid ab aliquo* 'to press some one for something' cf. Planc. 12 *meum honestium ad eum potius detuli qui a me contenderat*; Verr. 2, 131 *hic magistratus a populo summa ambitione contenditur*. A clause with *ut* often takes the place of the accusative.

30 *fidem*: 'a promise', or 'a pledge'.

31 *hoc quidem*: 'a request of this kind', dependent on *impetraturum*, not on *dicere*.

in talibus viris: so 9, p. 30, l. 3 *in pueris*.

contenderet: *sc. aliquis ex eis*; for the omission of the subject to the verb cf. n. on 59, l. 29.

32 *sanctissimi viri:* 'the purest of men'.

33 *rogatum:* not in agreement with *aliquid*, but with the unexpressed subject (*aliquem* = τινά) of the infinitive *facere;* cf. *rogati* below.

P. 41.

1 *at vero:* 'but truly'. Laelius intends this sentence to carry with it the inference that the friendship between Gracchus on the one hand, and Carbo, Cato *etc.* on the other, was no true friendship.

2 *Carbo:* cf. §§ 41, 96. C. Papirius Carbo became, after the death of Ti. Gracchus, one of the commissioners for carrying out the agrarian law. He was tribune in 131 B.C. and introduced vote by ballot at the passing of laws in the *Comitia.* As consul in 120 he tried to reconcile himself with the aristocrats but failed. In 119 he was prosecuted for his share in the Gracchan troubles and committed suicide. Cf. § 96.

Cato: a grandson of the censor, and also of Paulus Macedonicus, whose daughter married the son of the censor. This Cato was consul in 114 and condemned for corruption in connexion with Iugurtha.

minime...acerrimus: a difficult passage, thoroughly dealt with by Madvig, Opusc. 2, 281. with whose interpretation, viz. that *minime* qualifies *acer* to be supplied from *acerrimus*, I agree. If *minime* qualifies *sequebatur* to be supplied from *sequebantur* then Cicero makes the statement that Gaius did not approve the principles of Tiberius while the latter was alive, and only took them up after his brother's death—a statement Cicero must have known to be false, since Gaius (then only 20 years of age) accepted from Tiberius the office of commissioner for executing the *lex agraria.* Cf. also pro Rab. perd. 14 *fratris quocum concordissime vixerat* (*Gaius*). Madvig illustrates the supplying of the positive *acer* from the superlative *acerrimus* by Livy 37, 41, 3 *quae nihil adeundum Romanis* (*sc. incommoda*) *eadem per-incommoda regiis erant;* Cic. Rep. 1, 71 *quem si habemus, etsi ne nunc quidem* (*sc. quisquam est florentior*) *tum vero quis te possit esse florentior?* Trans. the whole sentence thus, 'but truly Ti. Gracchus had as his partisans C. Carbo, C. Cato and his own brother Gaius, who then was not very zealous, though now exceedingly so'. In the word *acerrimus* there is a hint at the suspicion that C. Gracchus had a hand in Scipio's death. See Introd. p. 18.

Gaius: n. on 3, p. 27, l. 21.

§ 40.

4 *neque...nec:* common in Cic. for *nec...nec; nec.. neque*, however, is rare (Arch. 29). Cf. 52, p. 44, l. 31.

6 *minime accipienda:* 'not to be allowed'. So πρόφασιν or σκῆψιν ἀποδέχεσθαί τινος.

ceteris: n. on 16, l. 21; 7, l. 9.

8 *eo loco etc.:* 'we are now placed in such a position that it is our duty to keep a vigilant (lit. distant) outlook for troubles still to come upon our country'. *Nos* = *Romani;* not Laelius and his sons-in-law.

10 *aliquantum*: see critical notes.

maiorum: all the editors seem to make this depend on *consuetudo*: but surely it is absurd to say 'the practice of our ancestors has swerved aside from its course and its career'. I prefer to make *maiorum* depend on *spatio curriculoque* (notwithstanding the collocation) and so construe '*our* practice has swerved aside from the course and career marked out by our ancestors'. Metaphors from racing are exceedingly common in Cicero; cf. *e.g.* Academ. 2, 112 *cum sit campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias et in Stoicorum dumeta compellimus?* Cf. also below, 101, l. 29. That there is little or no difference in meaning between *spatium* and *curriculum* is shewn by passages like Orat. 12 *Academiae spatia sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum.* [Cf. 2, 9 *lapsa consuetudo deflexit.*]

§ 41.

11 *regnum occupare*: 'to establish a monarchy'. In Velleius 2, 4, 4 Scipio says of Ti. Gracchus '*si occupandae rei publicae animum habuisset*'.

vel: =*vel potius*, 'or rather'.

is quidem: =ἐκεῖνός γε, or ὅ γε as in Homer; not needed for the sense, but added in order to point attention more closely to the subject of the verb. Cf. 66, l. 13, n. on *illa quidem*.

12 *num quid etc.*: 'had the Roman nation either tradition or experience of anything resembling it?' The modern equivalent for *hearing* of such a matter would be *reading about it in history*. So the Greeks say ἀκούομεν 'we know from history'; ἀνήκοος 'a man ignorant of history'. Cf. 45, l. 17.

14 *P. Scipione*: I agree with Seyffert and Lahmeyer (against Nauck) in taking this person to be not Africanus minor but P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio the murderer of Ti. Gracchus. He is sometimes called *pontifex* (as in Cat. 1, 3) to distinguish him from Africanus, but in other passages merely P. Scipio as here: cf. Leg. 3, 20; Planc. 88. His father is mentioned in 101, l. 20. Nasica Serapio was a son of a daughter of the elder Africanus, therefore a cousin of the Gracchi. The senate gave him a *legatio* to Pergamus, a form of honourable exile, in order to withdraw him from the fury of the democratic party. He committed suicide at Pergamus.

effecerint in P. Scipione: for the construction cf. 9, p. 30, l. 3 *in pueris*. Seyffert rightly points out that *fecerint* could not stand here, since the democratic party had not itself *done* anything to Nasica, but had forced the senate to punish him.

non queo: n. on 22, l. 18; cf. also n. on 71, l. 26.

15 *nam*: this is elliptic, as often; so in Greek too γάρ. The full sense would be 'I need hardly mention Carbo, for *etc.*' Cf. 45, l. 17; also 104, l. 15 *nam quid ego dicam?...*

quocumque modo potuimus: 'as best we could'; 'we' here = the aristocratic party.

16 *propter poenam:* *i.e.* it would have excited the populace too much to attempt to punish Carbo so soon after Ti. Gracchus' death.

sustinuimus: 'we have borne with'.

C. Gracchi autem: but in 69, p. 50, l. 4 *Q. vero Maximum.* The latter collocation is regular: here *autem* is postponed in order to make the contrast between *Ti. Gracchi* and *C. Gracchi* more exact.

17 *tribunatu:* this was still in the future at the time when Laelius is supposed to be speaking; Scipio died in 129 and C. Gracchus did not become tribune till 123 B.C.

18 *serpit:* cf. 87, l. 1. *Serpere* means here 'to make progress imperceptibly or insinuatingly'. Nägelsbach, Stilistik § 129, has brought together a good many instances of this use, and of other words or phrases similarly used, as *manare, fundi, fluere,* often with *longe* and *late.* For *serpere* cf. Fin. 5, 65 *caritas serpit sensim;* ib. 2, 45 *homo profectus a caritate domesticorum et suorum serpit longius;* N. D. 3, 51 *illa autem Balbe quae tu a caelo astrisque ducebas quam longe serpant, non vides?*

deinde: the interpretation of this word (which Lahmeyer does not notice) is very difficult. Seyffert (as I understand him) explains it by a reference to *deflexit iam consuetudo* above. Putting a full stop at *augurari,* he makes the general drift to be this: 'our political practice has already departed from the right course. *First* Ti. Gracchus has tried to establish a tyranny; *next* (*deinde*) a proposition (*res*) is making progress of a sort that readily glides down the road to destruction, when once it has taken a start'. This proposition he supposes to be the *lex tabellaria* of Carbo (131 B. C.). But the present tenses are wholly inexplicable as applied to events disposed of two years before. (See, however, n. on l. 20.) I therefore prefer to take the remark *serpit...labitur* as perfectly general in scope, and as intended to give the reason why Laelius dreaded to think of the future course of Gaius Gracchus. *Deinde* here is used *proleptically,* *i.e.* it presupposes *semel* which comes after; cf. n. on 7, l. 9 *reliqua.* Trans. 'affairs *soon* move on, for they glide readily down the path of ruin, when *once* they have taken a start'. The sentence *videtis...Cassia* simply gives an actual example of this general principle.

proclivis: here has an adverbial force; 'readily'. For reading see Appendix.

19 *coepit:* *sc. labi.* The omission of the infinitive is exceedingly common both with *coepi* and *debeo;* so with *opinari* in a passage quoted on 10, l. 14. Cf. Cat. 1, 10 *perge quo coepisti.* Observe that Cic. and Caesar do not, like Sallust, Livy and later writers, use *coepi absolutely;* *i.e.* an infinitive is always either expressed or implied.

in tabella: 'in the matter of voting'; lit. 'of the voting ticket'. (*In* as above, l. 14 *in P. Scipione.*) For the collocation *in tabella quanta sit* cf. 24, p. 35, l. 33 *de amicitia quid sentirem.*

iam ante: 'even before', *i.e.* before the time of C. Gracchus.

20 *labes:* 'corruption', *i.e.* of old institutions.

Gabinia lege: this law, entitled *de magistratibus mandandis* (Leg. 3, 35), was carried by A. Gabinius, tribune in 139 B.C., and introduced into

elections vote by ballot (*i.e.* by writing the name of the candidate on a ticket or tablet).

Cassia: this law was carried by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, tribune in 137 B.C., and extended the ballot to the jurors in the criminal courts. Cassius was afterwards a judge and for his severity called *scopulus reorum*; he was the author of the saying '*cui bono?*' (*i.e.* who gains by it? viz. the offence). The *lex tabellaria* of Carbo introduced the ballot for voting on laws proposed to the *comitia*. His law is commonly placed in 131 B.C. but there is no direct evidence for the date, and it may have been several years later.

21 *populum...multitudinis:* the change seems made merely for the sake of variety.

§ 42.

23 *quorsum haec: sc. disputo*, as in post red. ad Quir. 5 *quorsum igitur haec disputo?* Cf. also Cat. m. 13 *quorsum igitur haec tam multa de Maximo;* Phil. 7, 26 *quorsum haec omnis spectat oratio;* Leg. 1, 62 *sed quorsus hoc pertinet?*

25 *igitur:* note its position as third word in the sentence; and cf. *enim* in 50, l. 7.

bonis: = *bonis viris*, as in 18, l. 3, and elsewhere.

26 *ignari casu aliquo:* note the two reasons *ignari* and *casu aliquo* placed side by side unconnected by a conjunction. So 3, p. 28, l. 3 *praesentibus coram.*

ne: in *final* clauses as here and 43, l. 5; 60, l. 8; 65, p. 49, l. 1; 78, l. 27; where a negative is needed *ne* and *ut ne* are used indifferently by Cicero; in *consecutive* negative clauses *ut non* stands as below, l. 26. Cf. Roby § 1636, § 1696. [Cf. however my n. on Pro Sulla § 27.]

alligatos: possibly Cic. wrote *illigatos*, which he always uses in a bad sense—'entrapped', or 'entangled'.

27 *in magna...peccantibus:* 'when sinning in some public matter of importance'. Cf. the phrase *summa res publica;* also pro Balbo 14 *in tanta re publica versari;* also n. on 15, l. 8. In old editions *in magnam rem publicam* used to be read, but apart from the unsatisfactory sense here, the construction *peccare in rem publicam* does not occur, while the abl. is found often, as in Att. 7, 1, 3. The accusative is even in other expressions rare; Cic. generally says *peccare in aliquo*, not *aliquem;* cf. Tusc. 2, 12.

28 *nec vero:* this phrase, which occurs also in 65, l. 32, corresponds to the positive expression *et...quidem* (cf. 7, l. 11), the phrase *nec...quidem* being unused by good writers; see n. on 30, p. 38, l. 4.

30 *quis clarior:* for omission of *erat* cf. 22, l. 20 *quid dulcius..* and 30, p. 38, l. 3 *Africanus indigens mei?* See also n. on 14, l. 31 [illegible]

Themistocle: so Acad. 2, 2 *Themistocle quem facile Graeciae principem ponimus.*

31 *imperator:* = στρατηγὸς of the Athenians. The whole Grecian fleet at Salamis was commanded not by Themistocles but by Eurybiades the Spartan.

32 *invidiam:* = διαβολήν, 'unpopularity'.

33 *ingratae etc.:* 'did not bear with the injustice of his thankless country as he was in duty bound to do'.

P. 42.

1 *viginti annis ante:* the ostracism of Themistocles happened in 471 B.C. while the banishment of Coriolanus from Rome is assigned to the year 491.

2 *Coriolanus:* he is compared with Themistocles in Brut. 42; Att. 9, 10. 3. Varying accounts were current concerning the death of both these men, as Cic. himself states in Brut. 42 and 43, where he refers to Thuc. 1, 38. In Att. 9, 10, 3 he assumes that Coriolanus died a natural death.

nemo: the inference intended is 'so much worse are the Romans now than their forefathers, and than the Greeks of Themistocles' time'.

§ 43.

3 *talis:* *i.e.* such as that described in § 41.

5 *supplicio:* a stronger word than *poena* above (42, l. 28); in its strict sense *supplicium* means 'summary execution'. For *supplicio omni ac summo* cf. pro imp. Cn. Pomp. 11.

6 *concessum:* 'permissible'.

7 *quod etc.:* 'now this, considering the course affairs have begun to take, will probably come about'. In Cicero *haud scio an* always introduces something which is *probable;* in some later writers, however, something which is *improbable;* cf. n. on 20, p. 34, l. 3.

8 *curae:* n. on *cordi* in 15, l. 14.

§ 44.

10 *haec igitur...faciamus:* these words almost exactly repeat the first sentence of § 40. Notice that in this sentence the clauses are put side by side without connecting particles. Many edd. read *vero* for *verum* against the weight of MSS evidence. The fact that the other clauses have no connecting particles is in favour of *verum*, for the sense of which cf. 90, l. 10 *cuius aures clausae veritati sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat.*

13 *libere:* = μετὰ παρρησίας, 'with all freedom of speech'; cf. 91, l. 22. In Tacitus *libertas* has frequently the meaning of παρρησία.

15 *non modo etc.:* 'not only frankly, but even sternly'. Cf. 91, l. 21 *monere et moneri proprium est verae amicitiae et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum patienter accipere, non repugnanter.*

§ 45.

17 *nam:* 'I say this, for'; slightly elliptic; see 41, l. 15 n.

quos audio etc.: cf. n. on 24, l. 18 *doctum quendam*, and for *audio* n. on 41, l. 12. Observe that Cic. writes *habitos*, not *haberi*.

18 *placuisse:* 'I think that some...have held as dogmas'; the word *placere* has often a much stronger sense than our 'please'.

mirabilia: παράδοξα, a word which Cic. translated sometimes by *mirabilia* (Acad. 2, 136), sometimes by *admirabilia* (Parad. prooem. 4; Fin. 4, 74), sometimes by *admiranda*.

sed: in contrast to *mirabilia*—'paradoxes indeed, but'.

19 *quod etc.:* 'which they do not refine upon (lit. track out) in their subtlety'.

partim: there is slight *anacoluthon* here; the sentence is closed without the second *partim* which should correspond to this, and its place is taken by *alios* at the beginning of the next sentence. Both *partim* and *alii* refer to *quibusdam*. Such *anacolutha*, where only one of a pair of words such as *alter alter*, *alius alius etc.* is expressed and the other replaced (in another sentence) by some other expression, are very common in Cic.; cf. n. on 73, l. 3. Madvig has collected a large number of exx. in the first excursus to his De Finibus.

fugiendas etc.: that a man should avoid making too much of his friendships' (lit. 'that too-much friendships, excessive friendships are to be avoided'). Through not seeing that *homini* (not *hominibus*) is to be supplied after *fugiendas*, some editors have against Latin usage forced *nimias* into meaning *nimis multas*, because of *pluribus* below. In the words that follow, the emphasis lies not on *unum pro pluribus* (for it is assumed that each man will have more friends than one) but on *sollicitum*. Cic. is evidently here imitating a chorus of the Hippolytus of Euripides, l. 253 sq. The nurse of Phaedra speaks:

> χρῆν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους
> φιλίας θνητοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι
> καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς,
> εὔλυτα δ' εἶναι στέργηθρα φρενῶν
> ἀπό τ' ὤσασθαι καὶ συντεῖναι.
> τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ δισσῶν μίαν ὠδίνειν
> ψυχὴν χαλεπὸν βάρος, ὡς κἀγὼ
> τῆσδ' ὕπερ ἀλγῶ.
> οὕτω τὸ λίαν ἧσσον ἐπαινῶ
> τοῦ μηδὲν ἄγαν
> καὶ συμφήσουσι σοφοί μοι.

The sentiment is the same as that in Sophocles' Aiax 680 ἔς τε τὸν φίλον | τοσαῦθ' ὑπουργῶν ὠφελεῖν βουλήσομαι | ὡς αἰὲν οὐ μενοῦντα.

21 *satis superque etc.:* 'each man has of his own business enough for himself and to spare'. For the almost pleonastic *sibi* cf. Tusc. 5, 42 *omnia sibi in se posita censebis*, and the use in comedy of *suus sibi*.

23 *laxissimas habenas:* a representation of l. 4 of the passage quoted above, εὔλυτα δ' εἶναι στέργηθρα φρενῶν. The collocation *habenas habere*

seems intentional; cf. 22, l. 18 *vita vitalis*. Lucr. 2, 1095 has *quis habere profundi indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas.*

quas: here = *ita ut eas.*

24 *adducas...remittas:* ἀπό τ' ὤσασθαι καὶ συνεῖναι. For *adducere* 'to draw tight' cf. Verg. Aen. 9, 587 *a. habenas;* Liv. 9, 10, *quin adducis lorum?* For the position of *cum velis* see n. on 8, l. 21 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi.*

caput: 'the chief matter'; cf. *maximum est* in 69, p. 49, l. 33.

25 *beate vivendum:* in the Latin of Cicero's time there was no one word to represent the Greek εὐδαιμονία = happiness. Cic. himself in one passage (N. D. 1, 95) coined *beatitas* and *beatitudo*, but did not again use the words, though they became current later. Cf. 84, l. 6 *beata vita.*

securitatem: as Seyffert remarks, Cic. uses this word as well to express the εὐθυμία (cheerfulness) of Democritus, as the ἀπάθεια (absence of emotion) of the Stoics, and the ἡδονή of Epicurus.

qua frui non possit: in the *oratio recta* this would be *qua frui non potest.* In representing in *oratio obliqua* clauses with a relative which is simply connective (*qui = et is* or *nam is*) Cic. allows himself a certain latitude between the construction with acc. and inf. (*qua frui non posse animum*) and the subjunctive construction which we have here. We find in Acad. 1, 42...*scientiam nominabat: ex qua exsisteret etiam opinio;* but in Fin. 3, 64 *mundum autem censent regi numine deorum eumque esse communem urbem et civitatem hominum et deorum, et unum quemque nostrum eius mundi esse partem, ex quo illud natura consequi, ut...* The subjunctive verb in the one passage and the infinitive verb in the other would each of them be present indicative in *oratio recta*, and their constructions would be exactly similar. Cf. also Tusc. 3, 69 *Theophrastus accusasse naturam dicitur quod cervis et cornicibus vitam diuturnam quorum id nihil interesset, hominibus, quorum maxime interfuisset, tam exiguam vitam dedisset;* Acad. 1, 28 *ex quibus effectum esse mundum, extra quem nulla pars materiae sit;* Fin. 4, 16 *aiunt artis requisitas quae naturam adiuvarent, in quibus ea numeretur...;* N. D. 1, 106 *hoc idem fieri in deo, cuius crebra facie pellantur animi.* Cf. also below, 88, l. 18 *fuisset.* It will be seen that the ordinary grammar rule, thus given by Mr Roby (§ 1781) 'those relative sentences [? clauses] in which *qui = et is*, or *nam is*, *cum = et tum etc.*, being not really subordinate sentences [? clauses], are put in the infinitive', requires considerable modification. There is a very similar, but less common vacillation between infinitive and subjunctive in putting questions of the form *quid facio?* or *quid facit?* into *oratio obliqua.* For this see Roby § 1782 n. [The present passage (from *qua* to *pluribus*) might be regarded as really in *oratio recta*, the *oratio obliqua* having been abandoned. Cf. Fam. 5, 16, 4 *saepissime et legi et audivi, nihil mali esse in morte; in qua si resideat sensus immortalitas illa potius quam mors ducenda sit; sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat quae non sentiatur.*]

26 *tamquam parturiat:* a hesitating translation of ὠδίνειν in the passage of Euripides; cf. n. on 49, l. 33.

§ 46.

alios: the Cyrenaics and Epicureans; cf. 52, l. 28 *homines deliciis diffluentes.*

dicere aiunt: phrases like *dicere dicunt* are exceedingly rare in Cic., but Stuerenburg on Arch. 20 is wrong in saying that Planc. 35 supplies the only instance; see Fam. 3, 7, 5; 9, 16, 5; 11, 20, 1.

27 *inhumanius:* cf. *humanius* in Fin. 2, 82 where Cic. is contrasting the sordid view of friendship put forward by Epicurus himself, with the gentler views of his later followers.

quem etc.: 'a topic which I have briefly touched on already'.

28 *ante:* § 26 sq.

praesidi adiumentique: 'protection and assistance'; cf. 51, l. 21.

29 *expetendas:* 'choiceworthy'; n. on 22, l. 24.

30 *ut quisque minimum:* see n. on 19, l. 23.

haberet: in quotations Cic. often puts the past tense where we should expect the present; *e.g.* N.D. 1, 40 *idemque disputat aethera esse eum quem homines Iovem appellarent.* The change to *quaerent* is odd.

31 *appetere:* = ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἐφίεσθαι; different from *expetere* = προαιρεῖσθαι.

mulierculae: this diminutive here expresses pity: often however contempt; cf. γύναιον.

§ 47. P. 43.

1 *praeclaram:* ironical, as often; cf. Acad. 2, 94; Tusc. 1, 49.

solem enim etc.: cf. closely §§ 20, 22, and for the metaphor Att. 9, 10, 3 *sol, ut est in tua quadam epistula, e caelo cecidit.*

2 *a dis:* *sc. datum.*

3 *quae:* almost = *quanti,* as often; 'of what worth?'

4 *blanda:* 'enticing': an epithet often applied to the Epicurean ἡδονή (*voluptas*).

reapse: cf. the common contrast between λόγῳ and ἔργῳ. Corssen II^2 847 quotes from Festus a fragment of a speech by Scipio where *reque eapse* occurs. We have *i-p-se* and in Plautus *ea-p-se, eum-p-se, eam-p-se.* All these words contain the enclitic particle *pe* which appears in *nem-pe, quis-p-iam etc.:* also the remains of a lost demonstrative pronoun once declined *so-s, sa, sum,* the same in fact as the definite article ὁ, ἡ in Greek. The only difference in meaning between *reapse* and the simple *re* is one of emphasis. [Reapse was in Cic.'s time archaic: Sen. Ep. 108, 32.]

multis locis: not different in sense from 48, l. 21 *multis in rebus.* For *locis* cf. 22, l. 29 *nullo loco;* 22, l. 36 *pluribus locis;* 67, l. 16 *hoc loco.*

5 *consentaneum:* 'consistent', *i.e.* 'with your other actions'.

6 *rem:* = πρᾶγμα; *actionem* = πρᾶξιν 'course of action'.

7 *fugimus:* 'intend to avoid'; the *continuous* sense of the present tense frequently borders on a future meaning.

8 *necesse est...aspernetur: ut* omitted, as often in Cic. after *necesse est, oportet* and other impersonal phrases; cf. n. on 10, l. 4 *cave;* also on 17, l. 32 *censeo petatis.*

9 *bonitas:* 'kindheartedness', as in 11, l. 26; 29, l. 23 *etc.* Little different from *benevolentia* in 19, l. 27 *etc.*

malitia: 'evilheartedness', 'ill-will'.

temperantia: σωφροσύνη, self-control, particularly with regard to bodily pleasures.

10 *videas: sc. si adsis,* or something equivalent. For the missing protasis cf. n. on 5, l. 24.

11 *dolere:* n. on 11, l. 28.

imbellibus...modestis: note the *chiasmus* (for which see n. on 23, l. 10), and cf. n. on 5, l. 19. *Modestus* is not 'modest', but 'law-abiding'. It is here almost equivalent to our 'respectable'.

12 *ergo etc.:* 'it is therefore characteristic of the well-ordered mind'.

§ 48.

13 *si cadit...qui profecto cadit:* cf. 24, p. 36, l. 1 *si quae praeterea sunt—credo autem esse multa.*

cadit in: 'belongs to', 'affects', 'falls within the province of'; a favourite phrase with Cic.; *e.g.* Acad. 1, 42; Tusc. 3, 12 *cadere, opinor, in sapientem aegritudinem tibi dixisti videri;* below, n. on 100, l, 7.

15 *humanitatem:* 'the milk of human kindness'.

arbitramur: the present indicative as in l. 7 *fugimus;* cf. also *arbitrantur* in 24, l. 29.

16 *aliquas:* note the difference to the sense which *ullas* for *aliquas* would make—the difference between getting rid of *some actual* troubles (*aliquas*) and *all possible* troubles (*ne...ullas*).

17 *motu animi:* to be taken in a wide sense, as the context shews, both of emotions and intellectual perceptions. The Stoics taught that the wise man should be unaffected by ordinary emotion, which they regarded as sinful. Cf. Tusc. IV, *passim,* and n. on § 8, l. 23.

18 *dico:* this has for its real object the whole phrase *inter pecudem et hominem,* which may be treated as though between inverted commas, as also the whole phrase from *inter hominem* to *eiusdem.* Sometimes Cic. uses *non dicam* for *non dico* in such sentences. Cf. also n. on *ne dicam* in 32, l. 17.

19 *truncum aut saxum:* no doubt Cicero was thinking when he wrote this of the line in the Odyssey (19, 163) οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός ἐσσι παλαιφάτου, οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ πέτρης, which he imitates also in Acad. 2, 100. For *truncus* cf. N.D. 1, 84 *qui potest esse in eius modi trunco sapientia?* Seyffert copiously illustrates the use of *truncus saxum ferreus* and the like to denote stupidity and insensibility.

20 *isti:* the Stoics.

quasi: 'almost'; cf. n. on 6, p. 29, l. 5; 3, p. 28, l. 2.

21 *volunt:* cf. 29, l. 30; *volt esse* also in 98, l. 23.

cum...tum: 'as...so'.

22 *bonis...incommodis:* =*rebus secundis...adversis* (18, p. 33, l. 2).

23 *diffundatur: sc. virtus*, put here, after Cicero's fashion, for *vir praeditus virtute.* Nägelsbach makes the subject to *diffundatur* to be *amicus* supplied from *amici;* he then says that either this *amicus* is equivalent to *animus amici* or else *animo* must be understood with the two verbs. This interpretation seems clumsy. [It is possible that the subject of *diffundatur* may be *quis* understood; cf. n. on l. 27 *contrahat.*] When the mind is *expanded* it is supposed to feel pleasure, when *contracted*, pain. The Stoics used the terms διαχεῖσθαι and συστέλλεσθαι, διάχυσις and συστολή.

25 *non plus quam...repudientur:* the sentence is elliptic for *non plus quam angor qui capiendus est ex virtutibus valet ut etc.* The *non* before *plus* would not be required by good English idiom, though in vulgar English 'not...*no* more than' is common for 'not...*any* more than'. Cf. n. on 103, l. 11 *numquam ne minima quidem;* also n. on 10, l. 4.

27 *contrahat:* what is the subject of this verb? Seyffert (and after him Nauck; Lahmeyer has no note) says the whole clause *si quasi* (or, as he and most edd. read against the MSS, *si qua*) *significatio virtutis eluceat*, but the passages he quotes are entirely unlike ours. It is more likely that the subject is *quis* omitted as in De Or. 1, 30 *quo velit*=*quo quis velit.* For the omission of the subject cf. n. on 59, l. 29.

supra: an expression inadvertently used by Cic., for it implies *writing* and is inapplicable to a *speech.* Cf. however 15, l. 3. In 8, l. 20 we have *ut est a Fannio dictum.*

28 *quasi significatio virtutis:* cf. 32, l. 20. *Quasi* indicates that *significatio* is a translation of some Greek word such as σημεῖον; for which cf. n. on 49, l. 33.

eluceat: cf. n. on 27, p. 37, l. 8 *lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis.*

29 *applicet:* cf. 27, l. 31; 32, l. 21.

id cum contigit: cum here simply=*quotiens.* On *contigit* see n. on 8, l. 30. For *cum* with perfect tense cf. 94, l. 9.

§ 49.

30 *absurdum: est* omitted as in 22, l. 10 *quid dulcius;* 14, l. 31 *etc.*

multis inanibus: n. on 30, p. 38, l. 8 *multae et magnae.*

32 *corporis...animante:* adversative asyndeton, for which see n. on 5, l. 25; 13, l. 16.

praedito: as *animans* is exceptionally used of man, it is necessary here to make it masculine, but when it is applied to the lower animals, as in 81, l. 12, it is generally feminine. So *quadripes* is feminine (Parad. § 14).

eo qui: 'of such a kind that'; so 82, l. 23 *cupiditatibus eis quibus.*

33 *redamare:* coined by Cic. here to express ἀντιφιλεῖν and used by him nowhere else, nor does it occur again till very late in Latin literature. *Ut ita dicam* is used to soften the harshness of this new word; cf. 69, p. 50, l. 2; 55, l. 23; 29, l. 29.

P. 44.

1 *remuneratione:* this applies to *redamare* only, while *vicissitudine* applies to both *amare* and *redamare.*

§ 50.

2 *quid?* This little anticipatory question, like τί δὲ in Greek, serves to draw special attention to what follows. Its meaning really is 'What do you think of this that I am going to say?'

3 *addimus:* n. on *fugimus*, 47, p. 43, l. 7.

nihil esse etc.: it will be seen that the comparison is not quite perfect, there being two members in the first branch (*nihil...rem ullam*) and three in the second (*amicitiam...[homines]...similitudo*).

4 *similitudo:* properly this should be *similitudinem* in the same construction as *nihil*, but it is attracted into the same case with *quod.* Such attractions of case are common; for attractions of gender see n. on l. 10.

5 *verum esse ut:* cf. 14, l. 31 *sin illa veriora ut;* also 81, l. 11 *apparet ut;* 68, l. 24 *spem afferunt ut.* When the clause after *verum est* is an infinitive clause, it is regarded as embodying a fact, when an *ut*-clause, a consequence or result. The meaning here may be represented thus: 'this result will be granted as true, so as to lead to the fact that the good love the good'.

6 *asciscant:* 'adopt'.

quasi propinquitate: 'a sort of relationship'; opposed to actual *propinquitas* (19, l. 27). For *quasi* see n. on 3, p. 28, l. 2.

8 *natura:* 'natural affinity'.

enim: third word in the sentence; cf. 18, p. 33, l. 1 and *igitur* in 42, l. 25.

appetentius: when present participles lose the notion of time and become adjectives they take a genitive case.

similium: the neuter plural of the adjective in the genitive case used as substantive is rare. Cf. De Or. 2, 262 *gravium autem et iocorum unam esse materiam;* also 32, l. 13 *his;* 23, l. 4 *omnibus;* 13, l. 19 *in plerisque;* 55, l. 25 *istorum;* 58, l. 15 *datorum...acceptorum;* 30, p. 38, l. 1 *nullo;* 89, l. 10 *libero.*

9 *ut opinor:* 'such is my opinion'. Sometimes *opinor* alone without *ut* stands parenthetically beside a subjunctive, as in Att. 9, 6, 2 *sed quiescamus, opinor.*

bonis inter bonos: more emphatic than *bonis inter se*, which would have been more usual.

necessariam: sc. esse; so Cic. often leaves out the *esse* of the perf. pass. inf. after *constat; e.g.* pro Balbo 5 *quem constaret ab imperatore civitate donatum.*

10 *qui:* the attraction of the relative in sentences like this is almost regular in Cicero, and indeed in most other writers of the best period; *e.g.* Pis. 57 *levis est animi iustam gloriam, qui est fructus verae virtutis honestissimus, repudiare;* Phil. 5, 39 *Pompeio patre, quod imperi populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto.* Cf. 86, l. 20; 18, l. 7.

amicitiae fons: cf. 32, ll. 18—24.

12 *inhumana:* 'unkindly'; *immunis:* 'unserviceable' (literally, free from *munia* or duties towards the state); *superba:* 'egotistic'. The last word is difficult to translate, as it combines the notions 'oppressive', 'proud', 'difficult of approach'.

quae: =*cum ea;* so in 70, l. 15 *quos*=*cum eos*, and often.

§ 51.

15 *atque etiam:* 'and again'.

utilitatis causa: either these words are merely descriptive of *amicitias* ('imagine friendships *which are* based on expediency'), for which usage cf. n. on 20, p. 34, l. 2, or else there is an ellipse of *esse* ('imagine friendships *to be* based on expediency'), for which ellipse cf. 18, l. 7; 64, l. 24. *Fingunt* as in 18, l. 9 *quae finguntur aut optantur.*

16 *amabilissimum:* n. on 4, l. 12 *maxime memorabilem.* Trans. 'the tenderest link in the chain of friendship'.

17 *amor ipse:* n. on 19, l. 25 *natura ipsa.*

18 *tum...si:* cf. n. on 25, l. 6.

ab amico est profectum: the word *proficisci* is often thus used in Cicero's letters of services passing between friends; *e.g.* Fam. 2, 19, 2 *quaecumque a me ornamenta in te proficiscentur;* ib. 3, 1, 1 *intellego omnia quae a me profecta sunt in te, tibi accidisse gratissima;* so Nep. Att. 9, 4.

19 *tantumque abest ut...ut:* this particularly clumsy construction is a very favourite one with Cic. Note that with all good writers the verb in such phrases (*abest, afuit etc.*) is always impersonal.

20 *indigentiam:* a rare word, scarcely occurring out of Cicero, who uses it above, 27, p. 36, l. 31; 29, l. 30 and Tusc. 4, 21.

opibus: 'because of their wealth'. Roby § 1228.

21 *praesidi:* cf. 46, l. 28.

22 *alterius:* Cic. uses *indigere* far oftener with a genitive than with an ablative, though the latter is commoner in silver Latin. Above, 30, p. 38, l. 4 *Africanus indigens mei?*

23 *atque:* here corrective = καίτοι, 'and yet'.

haud sciam an: a well-attested though rare variant for *haud scio an;* cf. De Or. 1, 255; 2, 72 and 209. *Haud sciam* is really the apodosis to an unexpressed protasis such as *si quis ex me quaereret;* for which ellipse

cf. n. on 5, l. 24. The statement is thus conveyed in a more modest way than by *haud scio an*; cf. Cicero's frequent use of *crediderim etc.* for *credo etc.* Translate the whole sentence thus, 'And yet I rather think there is no advantage in friends never lacking aught'.

ne...quidem: the reason for the negative will be seen by referring to n. on 20, p. 34, l. 3 *haud scio an.*

nihil umquam omnino deesse: Cic. is here striving to represent the Greek αὐτάρκης = self-sufficient, for which there was no one word in Latin.

24 *ubi:* here = *qua in re* rather than *quo in loco.* Cf. Tusc. 5, 102 *cur igitur divitiae desiderentur, aut ubi paupertas beatos esse non sinit?* ib. 121 *me conscripturum libros arbitror, ubi enim melius uti possumus hoc otio?* Trans. 'where would our (= my) zealousness have displayed its activity if *etc.*'

25 *numquam...nec...nec:* cf. n. on 10, l. 4.

26 *Scipio eguisset:* see however 30, p. 38, l. 4 *quid? Africanus indigens mei?*

§ 52.

28 *homines deliciis diffluentes:* 'men enervated by pleasure'; cf. De Or. 3, 131 *otio diffluentes*; Off. 1, 106 *diffluere luxuria*; Terent. Haut. 5, 1, 73 *d. luxuria et lascivia*; Tusc. 2, 52 *liquescimus fluimusque mollitia*; Liv. 7, 29, 5 *fluentes luxu*; also the phrase *fluxa corpora*, and the uses of *solvi dissolvi frangi debilitari* and the like. *Diffluere* is rather rare, not occurring in Caesar, Nepos, Virgil, Horace or Ovid, and only once in Cicero's speeches. The *homines* meant are of course the Epicureans and Cyrenaics, as in 46, l. 26.

29 *quam...cognitam:* 'of which they understand neither the practice nor the theory'.

habent cognitam: cf. *compertum habere* and the like. In such phrases we have the first step towards the conversion of *habere* into an auxiliary verb, which is completed in the Romance languages. Cf. also 97, p. 58, l. 4.

30 *pro:* so rightly spelt, not *proh.*

deorum fidem atque hominum: for the collocation cf. 32, l. 21 *ut et usu eius fruantur et moribus*, and n. on 8, l. 21.

31 *ut:* 'on condition that', 'so as neither to...'. Cf. Fin. 2, 74 *quid mirereris, ut dicas te omnia voluptatis causa facturum?* For the general sense cf. Aristotle Eth. Nic. 9, 9, 3 οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἕλοιτ' ἂν καθ' αὑτὸν τὰ πάντ' ἔχειν ἀγαθά. Cicero's words are so near to Aristotle's as almost to look like a translation. Nägelsbach § 96, 2 points out that Cic. here is trying to represent μήτε φιλῶν μήτε φιλούμενος, and gives some instructive remarks on the modes in Latin of replacing the present participle passive.

neque...nec: n. on 40, l. 4.

32 *circumfluere:* Verr. 3, 9 *istum rebus omnibus undique ereptis eludentem circumfluere atque abundare.*

P. 45.

1 *nimirum:* some editions wrongly place the comma after instead of before *nimirum*, which always comes at the beginning and not at the end of a clause. Trans. 'I mean a life in which...'. *Ni-mirum* = *ne mirum*, where either *ne* = not, in which case *est* is understood and the phrase is a parenthetic clause, or *ne* = lest, and *sit* is to be supplied, there being then an ellipse to be filled out thus: *ne mirum sit, hoc dico.*

nulla fides: Ennius quoted in Off. 1, 26 *nulla sancta societas nec fides regni;* Bacon, Essay on Friendship, 'Princes......cannot gather this fruit' (of friendship).

2 *benevolentiae fiducia:* in the best prose writers *fides* and *fiducia* nearly always take the objective genitive ('trust in'); the dative, however, is found in the poets, as Verg. Aen. 3, 69 *fides pelago;* ib. 10, 152 *fiducia rebus.* Even with the phrases *fidem facere*, *fiduciam facere*, the construction in good prose is generally *alicuius rei*, not *alicui rei.*

§ 53.

3 *quis enim etc.:* cf. Off. 1, 97 *si Aeacus aut Minos diceret 'oderint dum metuant';* Phil. 1, 34 *in fabulis ipsi illi qui 'oderint dum metuant' dixerit.*

5 *dumtaxat ad tempus:* 'but only for a season'. *Dumtaxat* in the best writers is merely corrective, introducing an exception upon some word or words preceding, here on *coluntur.* *Taxat* is probably a subjunctive of the lost Latin aorist (here the weak aorist) from *tangĕre* a form of *tongĕre* (*denken, think*), on which word Festus p. 356 (ed. Müller) says '*Aelius Stilo ait noscere esse, quod Praenestini tongitionem dicant pro notionem. Significat et latius dominari. Ennius* alii rhetorica tongent'. Oscan forms *tangino-m*, *tangino-d* = *scitum, scito* (or *iussu* or *decreto*) are preserved. The formation of *taxat* will be then practically the same as that of λέξῃ. For the dropping of the nasal cf. σφίγγω, ἔσφιξα; θιγγάνω, θίξω. The original meaning of *dumtaxat* would thus be 'provided one knows the matter'. The verb *taxare* is only used in late Latin.

ad tempus: cf. 27, p. 37, l. 2 *ad quoddam tempus.*

si...tum: n. on 25, l. 6.

6 *quam fuerint inopes:* n. on 10, l. 8 *quam id recte.*

7 *quod:* 'and this'; the sentence from *tum* to the end is really explanatory of *quod.*

dixisse ferunt: n. on 46, l. 26 *dicere aiunt.*

8 *exsulantem:* almost parenthetic; explanatory of *tum.*

habuisset: note particularly the tense.

9 *neutris gratiam referre posset:* 'could make neither a return'. *Gratiam* here includes the notion of disservice as well as that of service. Cf. Att. 2, 9, 1 *ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem quam bonam meis putidissimis orationibus gratiam rettulerit;* Sull. 47 *nunc tecum sic agam, tulisse ut potius iniuriam quam rettulisse gratiam videar.*

§ 54.

10 *illa superbia: sc.* ὤν, 'with his well-known pride'. For *superbia* see n. on 50, l. 12.

importunitate: 'wrongheadedness', 'perversity'; cf. Cic. Rep. 1, 62 *non vides unius importunitate et superbia Tarquini nomen huic populo in odium venisse regium?*

11 *atque:* = καὶ μὴν, καὶ δὴ = 'now', or 'again'; so *ac* in 32, l. 15.

12 *veros amicos:* so 23, l. 6 and often.

multorum opes praepotentium: n. on 30, p. 38, l. 8 *multae et magnae*. Note the position of *praepotentium*; put there it introduces a limitation on *multorum*, 'the power of many, I mean of those who are very powerful'. [Cf. Sen. ben. 4, 10, 5 *pauperi viro bono.*]

13 *non solum ipsa:* cf. Theocr. 10, 19 οὐκ αὐτὸς (not alone) τυφλὸς ὁ πλοῦτος ἀλλά......χὠφρόντιστος ἔρως, where the Scholiast quotes Menander, ὁ πλοῦτος τυφλὸν, τυφλοὺς δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβλέποντας δεικνύει. Pacuvius 366 (Ribbeck) *fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi;* Plin. 2, § 22 *fortuna...a plerisque vero et caeca existimata.*

15 *fere:* n. on 2, l. 14.

fastidio et contumacia: the κόρος and ἄτη or ὕβρις of the Greek dramatists. Trans. 'wantonness and stiffneckedness'. Seyffert quotes a curious passage of Plin. N. H. 16, § 134 (of plants) *non omnia in omnibus locis nasci docuimus. Hoc alias fit fastidio, alias contumacia, alias imbecillitate.*

16 *insipiente fortunato:* Aristot. Rhet. 2, 16 talks of the ἀνόητος εὐδαίμων. For the words cf. Q. fr. 1, 3, 1 *quandam effigiem spirantis mortui;* Phil. 11, 20 *nihil agenti privato;* Att. 12, 21, 5 *fortis aegroti.*

17 *videre licet:* when used parenthetically these words passed into *videlicet*, which very word Lucret. 1, 210 uses with the ordinary construction of *videre licet.*

antea: proleptic; cf. n. on 7, l. 9.

commodis: 'affable'; *commodus* here has very much the sense of *communis* in 65, p. 48, l. 28; cf. Mur. 66 *quemquamne existimas Catone commodiorem, communiorem, moderatiorem fuisse ad omnem rationem humanitatis?* Cornif. ad Herenn. 4, 25 contrasts the *commodus* with the *vir intolerabili superbia.*

18 *imperio potestate:* originally *potestas* at Rome had a very wide meaning, denoting all power exercised by public authority and so including *imperium*. Then as certain officers (consul praetor dictator) had *imperium*, while others (censor, aedile, *etc.*) had not, the word *potestas* came to be particularly used in connexion with the latter class of officers. Trans. 'by power and office'.

19 *sperni:* the words from *sperni* to *novis* are explanatory of *immutari;* in such cases the connecting *et* is often left out—an usage called by grammarians *asyndeton explicativum*. [Some edd. unjustly suspect the clause because it happens to be left out in the Paris MS.]

§ 55.

quid stultius: for omission of *est* cf. 22, l. 20 n.

20 *copiis...opibus:* 51, l. 20 *opibus atque copiis.* The three words differ hardly, if at all, in meaning, 'riches, resources, prosperity'. *Plurimum posse* 'to be very influential'; the ablative as in 51, ll. 20, 21.

21 *cetera:* proleptic, as in 16, l. 21; cf. n. on 7, l. 9.

equos...pretiosa: for the arrangement of these words see n. on 57, l. 7.

22 *amicos: asyndeton adversativum* again; see nn. on 5, l. 25; 13, l. 16.

23 *ut ita dicam:* Cic. is apparently translating κτῆμα in such passages as Xen. Mem. 2, 4, 1 πάντων κτημάτων κράτιστον ἂν εἴη φίλος. For *ut ita dicam* in a translation cf. n. on 49, l. 33; for the metaphor in *supellex* Orat. 80 *oratoria quasi supellex;* Seneca Ep. 58, 18 *ideae, propria Platonis supellex;* Acad. 2, 31 and Sen. Ep. 2, 5, 8 *vitae instrumentum.*

24 *nec cuius causa: sc. parent; laborant=solliciti sunt.* For reading see Appendix.

25 *istorum:=istarum rerum:* n. on 50, l. 7.

vicit viribus: the alliteration is evidently intentional; cf. Mil. 30 *vi victa vis,* also Lael. 45, l. 23.

26 *sua...possessio:* put for *suae* by attraction; cf. 2, l. 13.

27 *quasi:* n. on 3, p. 28, l. 2.

28 *deserta ab:* cf. Fam. 5, 2, 10 *desertus ab officiis tuis.*

29 *sed haec hactenus:* a common formula for winding up one subject and passing on to another; 'but enough of this'. So Div. 2, 50; Fam. 6, 2, 3.

§ 56.

30 *constituendi sunt etc.:* for *constituendum est etc.* by attraction to the construction of the clause *qui sint etc.* Cf. 63, l. 5 *perspiciuntur quam sint leves;* also n. on 35, l. 22 and De Or. 2, 137 *quaeruntur qualia sint;* ib. 243; N. D. 2, 115. Madvig on Fin. 5, 58 says this kind of attraction is used only by Cicero.

31 *fines et quasi termini: finis* was very commonly used in the metaphorical sense, *terminus* less commonly; hence the *quasi,* for which cf. 3, p. 28, l. 2. For *fines diligendi* cf. *causae diligendi* in 30, p. 38, l. 9.

video:=scriptum video; for the phrase see n. on 39, l. 24.

32 *ferri:* 'are usually stated'. Cf. 6, p. 29, l. 4.

unam: this was an opinion which the Epicureans managed to entertain. Though they based friendship on utility (Diog. Laert. 10, 120 καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διὰ τὰς χρείας· συνίστασθαι δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ κοινωνίαν ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς) still they said that the full benefit of friendship would not be reaped unless a man loved his friend just as himself. Cf. Fin. 1, 68 *quocirca eodem modo sapiens erit affectus erga amicum, quo in se ipsum;* also the whole passage there from § 65 to § 70.

33 *alteram:* this is the opinion of those who regard friendship as a barter of services; below, l. 14.

P. 46.

2 *pariter aequaliterque:* n. on 32, l. 22.

§ 57.

4 *prorsus:* goes with *nulli*, not with *assentior;* 'to none at all'.

6 *nostra causa:* many editions have *nostri*, and in the sixth edition of Nagelsbach's Stilistik p. 506 the passage is still quoted with *nostri*. Cic. however never says *mei tui sui nostri vestri causa*, but always *mea causa etc.* The only passage in which the genitive is still retained by recent editors is Verr. 3, 121 *sui causa*, and many scholars, with whom I agree, think that *sua* should be read there. Cf. Madvig on Fin. 2, 76.

7 *faceremus etc.:* for the sense cf. § 26.

causa amicorum: note the chiasmus in *nostra causa...causa amicorum*, and cf. 55, l. 21. The repetition of *causa* (which is often left out in the second place, as in 46, l. 29) is no doubt due to the desire to complete the chiasmus (for which see n. on 23, l. 10).

precari: note the omission of *aliquid*.

8 *supplicare: sc. alicui.*

acerbius invehi...insectari vehementius: chiasmus as above.

9 *non satis:* 'not very'.

10 *multaeque res sunt etc.:* not for *multaeque aliae res sunt etc.*, but this clause repeats and gives more exactly the general statement contained in the words *quam multa...amicorum*.

11 *viri boni etc.:* it will be seen that in this section Cicero gives a peculiar turn to the meaning of the first opinion of the three above enumerated. He takes it to imply that a man must always *act* with regard to his friend just as he would in his own case, but the opinion itself probably had regard not to action but to feeling and implied that *love* between friends should be equal. It is in this sense that Cic. himself understands the opinion in Tusc. 3, 73 *praeclarum illud est et, si quaeris, rectum quoque et verum ut eos qui nobis carissimi esse debeant aeque ac nosmet ipsos amemus.* The opinion in fact was an answer to the question discussed by Aristotle in Eth. Nic. 9, c. 8 *πότερον δεῖ φιλεῖν ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ἢ ἄλλον τινά* and in the words of the next clause it *definiebat amicitiam paribus voluntatibus*.

§ 58.

13 *definit:* 'restricts friendship to an equal interchange of services and feelings'.

14 *exigue et exiliter:* 'with minuteness and exactness'. *Exig-uus* and *exilis* (for *exig-i-lis*) have a common element and an almost common meaning. I cannot accept Seyffert's extraordinary derivation of *exilis* from *ex* and *ilia*, though now backed by Corssen's authority (Ausspr. II² 1003).

calculos: properly the pebbles used in the *abacus* for counting; here 'to an account'. Cf. *faeneramur* in 31, l. 11.

15 *ratio acceptorum:* cf. closely §§ 26, 31. For the neuter genitive plural as substantive see n. on 50, l. 7.

datorum: the usual contrast to *acceptorum* in the language of Roman book-keeping is *expensorum.* The phrase *accepti expensique ratio* 'a debtor and creditor account' is common.

16 *divitior:* Cic. uses this form, not *ditior*, and *divitissimus*, not *ditissimus.*

affluentior: cf. 52, p. 44, l. 32 *circumfluere.*

vera amicitia: so in 22, p. 34, l. 32, below, l. 26, and often.

17 *observare etc.:* Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 8, 7 and 8, 13, 1 lays down that there is a class of friendships καθ' ὑπεροχὴν where there cannot be an equal exchange of services.

restricte: Fin. 2, 42 *nec tamen cur id tam parce tamque restricte faciant intellego.* The simple *stricte* (which Halm has here) only occurs in the silver Latin; *strictim* has quite another sense.

neque enim etc.: i.e. if the friendship be true all such fears fall to the ground.

18 *excidat...defluat...congeratur:* the metaphors are all from *measuring* articles of commerce.

§ 59.

20 *ut quanti etc.:* 'that each man should have the same value set on him by his friends that he sets upon himself'.

se ipse: n. on 5, l. 28.

21 *saepe enim etc.:* 'for ofttimes in some persons either the spirit is more downcast than is meet, or the hopes of an increase in prosperity are too low'. The persons here meant are the 'small-souled men' (μικρόψυχοι) described by Aristot. Eth. Nic. 4, 3, 35.

23 *eum:* = *talem virum.*

ille: referring to the same person to which *eum* refers. Had *ille* been left out the subject of *est* might have been taken to be *amicus* supplied from *amici* in the preceding clause. It was necessary therefore to insert a pronoun, and according to Latin usage, the change from *eum* to *ille* was needed; to repeat *is* would have been unusual. The following examples are precisely similar: Sest. 7 *et ad eum filiam eius adduxit, ut ille aliquam partem maeroris sui deponeret;* Prov. cons. 1 *quonam me animo in eos esse oportet, cuius illi salutem pro pignore tradiderunt.* So αὐτὸς and ἐκεῖνος often refer (in the same sentence) to the same person; *e.g.* Plato, Phaedo 111 B τὰς δὲ ὥρας αὐτοῖς κρᾶσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην ὥστε ἐκείνους ἀνόσους εἶναι.

24 *eniti et efficere etc.:* 'to strive so as to bring about an exaltation of his friend's low spirits'.

25 *induat spem: inducere* is a stage word, 'to bring on to the scene'; cf. n. on 4, l. 9, and for the reading here see Appendix.

26 *si prius dixero:* cf. Acad. 2, 64 *aggrediar igitur si pauca ante quasi de mea fama dixero.* [Mr Shilleto (in MS note): '*si=quum sive postquam:* cf. Plaut. Capt. 2, 1, 1'. The words (l. 248) are *iam ego revortar, si ex his quae volo exquisiero.*]

28 *vocem:* 'utterance'; a word particularly applied to any speech which is startling or remarkable.

inimiciorem amicitiae: oxymoron, for which see 23, l. 7.

29 *esset osurus:* the subject of the verb is the same as the unexpressed subject (τινά) of the infinitive *amare;* cf. 62, l. 32; 82, l. 20 *ipsum;* also n. on p. 47, l. 3 *sibi;* n. on 48, l. 27; 39, p. 40, l. 32. Cobet mistakenly wishes to read *esses* here.

30 *adduci:* by a common idiom, a positive verb (*dicebat*) must be supplied from *negabat* above.

quem ad modum putaretur: sc. dictum esse.

31 *Biante:* the saying is ascribed to Bias of Priene by Aristotle Rhet. 2, 13, 23 (whence Cic., who knew the Rhetoric well, probably took it) and Diog. Laert. 1, 87, but to Chilon, another of the seven, by Gellius, Noct. Att. 1, 3, 30. The sentiment was put by Sophocles into the mouth of Ajax in the lines quoted on 45, l. 19, and is repeated by Demosth. Aristoc. p. 660.

32 *septem:* n. on 7, l. 9.

impuri: asyndeton adversativum, n. on 13, l. 16.

omnia ad potentiam revocantis: cf. 32, l. 14 *ad voluptatem omnia referunt;* 'one who regarded everything as it affected his own influence'.

P. 47.

1 *amicus ei:* n. on 39, l. 25.

2 *cupere et optare:* 'to desire and pray'. For *optare* see n. on 18, l. 8.

3 *peccet:* n. on 37, p. 40, l. 15.

sibi: the person meant is the same as the unexpressed subject of the infinitives *cupere* and *optare;* see above, p. 46, l. 29. It is rather remarkable to find *sibi* following immediately on a verb the subject to which is a different person.

tamquam: qualifies the metaphor in *ansas;* cf. n. on 3, p. 28, l. 2 *quasi.*

ansas ad: the usual construction is *ansam dare*, or *praebere alicuius rei.*

4 *ad reprehendendum:* 'for criticism'; it is possible however that *reprehendendum* has here the literal sense 'to catch hold of' as in Acad. 2, 139 *revocat virtus vel potius reprehendit manu.*

§ 60.

6 *ad tollendam amicitiam valet:* 'has the effect of sweeping away friendship'.

7 *praecipiendum fuit*: sc. *ei cuiuscumque est hoc praeceptum.*

ut eam diligentiam ut: for the very inelegant, but common subordination of one *ut*-clause to another see my n. on pro Balbo 20.

8 *comparandis:* so Fin. 1, 66 *amicitias comparare.*

ut ne: n. on 42, l. 26.

10 *minus felices:* euphemism for *infelices;* so *minus iustae* in 61, l. 16; *nec facillime* in 99, p. 58, l. 29.

ferendum: Diog. Laert. 1, 60 quotes a saying of Solon: φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ, μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε. Seyffert qu. Isocr. ad Demon. βραδέως μὲν φίλος γίγνου, γενόμενος δὲ πειρῶ διαμένειν. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 3 discusses the causes which may justify the dissolution of friendships.

11 *tempus:* = καιρὸν, an occasion. Trans. 'thought that we should put up with it rather than devise an occasion for a quarrel'.

§ 61.

13 *his igitur etc.:* 'I think then we must adopt such limits as that...'.

15 *sine ulla exceptione communitas:* n. on 20, p. 34, l. 2.

17 *aut caput agatur aut fama:* for the arrangement of the words cf. n. on 8, l. 21. *Caput* is *status;* the cases alluded to are those which might lead to *deminutio capitis.* In *fama* the reference is to trials involving *infamia* as part of the punishment which may result from them.

18 *declinandum de via sit:* on the nice question of casuistry, how far one is to condone the wrong doings of a friend, Laelius is conveniently vague, as Gellius in his criticism of this passage (Noct. Att. 1, 3, 14) complains. The passage becomes the more unsatisfactory when we go back to Laelius' first principle in § 18 *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.* Aristotle's discussion of the matter is more careful though still vague: Eth. Nic. 9, 4, 3 ἆρ' οὖν εὐθὺς διαλυτέον, ἢ οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνιάτοις διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν; ἐπανόρθωσιν δ' ἔχουσι, μᾶλλον βοηθητέον εἰς τὸ ἦθος, ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν...δόξειε δ' ἂν ὁ διαλυόμενος οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ποιεῖν. Roman popular morality required a man to go much greater lengths in assisting a friend than would be allowed even by the popular morality of our time; this is expressed in the words *modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur.*

19 *est quatenus:* cf. *est ubi, est cum* and the like; also n. on 29, l. 28.

20 *nec vero etc.:* it is not at first sight easy to see the connexion of the whole of this sentence with what goes before. 'Nor, however, must we be careless of our reputation [*i.e.* in our anxiety to serve a friend], nor yet must we suppose that the goodwill of our fellow-countrymen is an unimportant weapon in the conduct of public affairs [*i.e.* we must not by going too great lengths in compliance with a friend run the risk of losing the goodwill of our fellow countrymen and of so becoming useless as public servants], though it is disgraceful to earn that goodwill by wheedling and flattery [*i.e.* we may pay too high a price for public favour]: we must by no means spurn virtue [*i.e.* in our desire

to help a friend], which has affection for its constant attendant [*i.e.* if we stick to virtue we shall have our reward].

telum: in Fam. 7, 16, 1 Cic. quotes an old line: *usquequaque sapere oportet: id erit telum acerrimum.*

22 *blanditiis et assentando:* it is not often that Cic. makes the gerund thus range with a noun, though the usage is exceedingly common in Tacitus and his contemporaries. Cf. Fin. 3, 34 *bonum non accessione neque crescendo aut cum ceteris comparando sentimus;* also, a little lower, *genere non crescendo.*

§ 62.

24 *cuius omnis sermo erat de amicitia:* 'from whom entirely proceeded the discourse concerning friendship'; *not* 'whose whole discourse was of friendship'.

25 *diligentiores:* 'more painstaking', *i.e.* 'than in friendship'.

26 *capras et ovis:* imitated from Xenoph. Mem. 2, 4, 4 ὁρᾶν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων, καὶ πάνυ πολλῶν ὄντων, τὸ πλῆθος εἰδότας, τῶν δὲ φίλων, ὀλίγων ὄντων, ἀγνοοῦντας; ib. 2, 4, 1 ἐπιμελουμένους δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ὁρᾶν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ φίλων κτήσεως.

27 *non posse dicere:* n. on 19, l. 28; cf. also 73, l. 5 *potuit...non potuit.*

28 *in amicis:* asyndeton; cf. n. on 13, l. 16.

29 *quasi signa quaedam et notas:* a tentative translation of the Greek σημεῖον or κριτήριον, which Cic. elsewhere renders by *iudicium* (Academ. *passim*) or *nota* merely (Acad. 2, 84); cf. also N. D. 1, 12 *certa iudicandi et assentiendi nota.* In Xen. Mem. 2, 6 Socrates describes the signs that should lead to the choosing of a friend.

30 *firmi etc.:* these adjectives describe the *vir gravis*, *gravitas* being the chief part of the ideal Roman character.

32 *expertum:* n. on 59, p. 46, l. 29 *osurus.*

33 *praecurrit:* φθάνει, 'outstrips the judgment'.

§ 63. P. 48.

2 *sustinere:* 'to check the kindly impulse as one would a headlong race'. For *sustinere* 'to pull up' cf. Acad. 2, 94 *ut agitator callidus equos sustineb[o];* Att. 13, 21, 3; Fam. 9, 8, 1 *me sustinebam.* Cf. 35, l. 18.

quo etc.: 'in order that we may find the characters of our friends thoroughly tested by partial friendship (*i.e.* before we enter on full friendship) like well-broken steeds'. Notice the following points: (1) *periclitatis*, though from a deponent verb, is used in a passive sense, like *meditatus* and a large number of other deponent participles, the usage being particularly common in Cicero; (2) *amicitia* is an ablative of the means, dependent on *periclitatis;* (3) *ex aliqua parte* is a phrase qualifying *amicitia*, for which usage cf. n. on 20, p. 34, l. 2.

3 *utamur...temptatis:* cf. 68, l. 29 *utatur...intractato.* The editors here quote Theognis 119 οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὔτε γυναικός,

πρὶν πειραθείης ὥσπερ ὑποζύγιον. Cf. also Arist. Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 8 *ἔτι δὲ προσδεῖται χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας.* The Latins wrote *templo* rather than *tento.*

4 *in:* as in 9, p. 30, l. 3.

5 *perspiciuntur:* see n. on 56, p. 45, l. 30 *constituendi sunt qui sint fines;* also on 35, l. 22.

quam sint leves: n. on 10, l. 8 *quam id recte.*

6 *movere non potuit:* 'could not have changed'. For this sense of *movere* (=*de statu movere*) cf. pro Scauro fragm. 45 *quem purpura regalis non commovit, eum Sardorum mastruca mutavit?*

sin vero: a rare combination of particles; Cic. nearly always says *si vero.*

8 *honores magistratus:* not essentially different from *imperia potestates,* for which see 54, l. 18.

10 *ius amicitiae:* 'the law of friendship'.

11 *imbecilla etc.:* 'nature shews weakness when called on to renounce power'.

13 *obscuratum iri:* 'they think their fault will be forgotten' (*i.e.* in the *blaze* of their prosperity).

14 *amicitia:* the repetition is made for the sake of emphasis.

§ 64.

16 *ubi invenias:* *i.e. si quaeras* (cf. n. on 5, l. 24) but above l. 8 *ubi inveniemus;* with the future the *search* is looked on as likely to take place, with the subjunctive, as not likely.

17 *quid:* n. on 50, l. 2.

haec ut omittam: observe the fondness of Cic. for placing *ut* second word in the clause or sentence. He nearly always says *nihil ut, non ut, sic ut* and the like and not *vice versa.* Cf. 87, l. 4.

19 *descendant:* cf. *descendere in certamen,* also *in causam* (Cic. Phil. 8, 4), and the similar uses with *decurrere, devenire.*

recte: the omission of a *verbum dicendi* is particularly common in quotations; so Off. 2, 62 *praeclare Ennius;* cf. also n. on 1, l. 10.

20 *amicus etc.:* the line is only known from this passage. It appears to be imitated from Euripides, Hecuba 1226 *ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ σαφέστατοι φίλοι.*

21 *levitatis et infirmitatis:* 'changefulness and instability'.

22 *aut si...aut:* the omission of the second *si* is exceedingly awkward, and I have been able to find no parallel. Possibly *cum* has fallen out after the second *aut;* cf. Fin. 2, 15 *si aut...aut cum.* Madvig in Fin. 1, 33 rejects *aut ut...aut* (where a second *ut* is needed) and reads *ut aut ...aut,* as some here have proposed to read *si aut...aut.*

in bonis rebus: sc. suis: in malis: sc. amicorum.

contemnunt: sc. amicos.

23 *utraque in re...in amicitia:* somewhat careless writing.

gravem: cf. 62, p. 47, l. 30.

24 *ex maxime raro genere iudicare: sc. esse;* 'to belong to (lit. 'to be from') a very exceptional class of men'. For the omission of *esse* see n. on 18, l. 7.

§ 65.

26 *firmamentum etc.:* 'the foundation of firmness and stability is the loyalty of him whom we seek to acquire as a friend'. For the reading see Appendix. For *eius quem in amicitia quaerimus* cf. Orat. 69 *erit igitur eloquens—hunc enim auctore Antonio quaerimus;* ib. 100 *tenemus, igitur, Brute, quem quaerimus.*

28 *simplicem:* 'frank', 'open'.

communem: 'sociable'; cf. Nep. Milt. 8, 4 *summa humanitas, mira communitas;* so κοινός, for which see Liddell and Scott.

29 *consentientem etc.:* 'sympathetic; I mean one likely to be touched by the same interests'.

isdem: so written in Republican Latin (or *eisdem*), not *iisdem.*

30 *elegi:* so rightly spelt, not *eligi.*

par est: =*aecum est* in 26, l. 18. Cf. 82, l. 20.

fidelitatem: no distinction in sense can be drawn between this word and *fides* above.

31 *multiplex:* here 'deceitful', but often a word of praise, as in Acad. 1, 17 *Platonis qui varius et multiplex* ('many-sided') *et copiosus fuit.* Cf. Plato Repub. 397 E ἀνὴρ διπλοῦς καὶ πολλαπλοῦς, where πολλαπλοῦς has the same meaning as *multiplex* in our passage. Cf. also below, 88, l. 25; 92, l. 33.

tortuosum: this word is generally used of complicated logical arguments, as in Acad. 2, 98; cf. Tusc. 3, 22 *contortius;* ib. 2, 42 *contortis conclusiunculis.*

32 *neque vero:* n. on 42, p. 41, l. 28.

P. 49.

1 *ut ne:* n. on 42, p. 41, l. 25.

inferentis...oblatis: observe the chiasmus for which see n. on 23, l. 10.

3 *fit:* 'is shewn to be'.

quod...dixi: § 18.

4 *boni viri...sapientem:* cf. closely §§ 18, 100.

6 *ne quid sit:* 'to see that there be not'.

fictum...simulatum: the same words in 26, l. 29.

aperte vel odisse: 'to go openly the length of hatred'; for *vel* cf. 43, l. 6 *vel bellum.*

7 *ingenui:* here in the same sense as in Vergil's line *ingenui voltus puer ingenuique pudoris*—'frank'.

occultare: stronger than *celare;* implies deliberate and habitual concealment.

9 *semper...violatum:* the clause is an explanation of the one word *suspiciosum.*

§ 66.

10 *suavitas:* Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 1 οὐ φαίνονται δὲ οὔθ' οἱ πρεσβῦται οὔθ' οἱ στρυφνοὶ φιλικοὶ εἶναι· βραχὺ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, οὐδεὶς δὲ δύναται συνημερεύειν τῷ λυπηρῷ οὐδὲ τῷ μὴ ἡδεῖ.

12 *condimentum:* 'which adds no slight zest to friendship'; cf. Q. Fr. 1, 1 *condimentis humanitatis severitas mitigatur.*

in omni re severitas: n. on 20, p. 34, l. 2.

13 *habet:* 'brings with it indeed dignity'. The words *illa quidem* simply serve to throw emphasis on the subject of the verb, and to contrast it with what follows. Cf. 41, l. 11; 68, l. 25, also Cat. m. 65 *morositas...habet aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed...;* Off. 3, 71 *malitia quae volt illa quidem videri se esse prudentiam sed abest.* It is often said that *is quidem* is only used for *ille quidem* when another *ille* has just gone before; this is not however the case in 41, l. 11.

§ 67.

16 *exsistit hoc loco:* 'there arises at this point'.

quaestio: here like the ἀπορία of Aristotle, a problem to be solved.

18 *vetulis:* this word usually expresses something of contempt, as when applied to a woman (*vetula*).

19 *indigna homine dubitatio:* in apposition to all of the sentence that precedes; cf. 71, l. 26 *odiosum genus;* 79, l. 29 *rarum genus.*

20 *veterrima quaeque:* n. on 34, l. 16 *optimis quibusque.*

22 *quod dicitur:* n. on 19, l. 15.

modios salis: Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 8 ἔτι δὲ προσδεῖται χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας· κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰδῆσαι ἀλλήλους πρὶν τοὺς λεγομένους ἅλας συναλῶσαι; Eth. Eudem. 7, 2 οὐ γαρ ἐστιν ἄνευ πείρας οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ὁ φίλος, ἀλλὰ χρόνου δεῖ· διὸ εἰς παροιμίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁ μέδιμνος τῶν ἁλῶν.

23 *ut amicitiae munus expletum sit:* 'so as to complete the task of friendship', *i.e.* to achieve friendship.

§ 68.

24 *spem afferunt ut:* cf. n. on *verum est ut* in 50, l. 5.

herbis: here the green shoots of corn. Seyffert quotes Ov. Her. 17, 263 *sed nimium properas et adhuc tua messis in herba est.*

fallacibus: so Horace calls an unproductive farm *mendax.* Cf. also Tibullus 2, 1, 19 *et seges eludit messem fallacibus herbis.*

25 *fructus appareat:* sc. *futurus.*

26 *vetustatis:* *vetustas* is often used alone for *vetustas amicitiae;* cf. Att. 1, 1 *vetustate amicitiae coniunctum* with Fam. 13, 32, 2 *vetustate coniunctus;* so below 74, l. 13.

27 *ipso equo:* '*even* in the case of the horse'.

28 *quo consuevit: sc. uti;* cf. Brut. 327 *sed ea vestitu illo orationis quo consuerat* (*sc. ornari*) *ornata non erat;* Nep. Dat. 4, 4 *eoque quo studuit* (*sc. venire*) *venit;* also n. on 41, l. 19.

31 *montuosis etiam:* the ancients generally felt little or no admiration for wild and mountainous scenery. Cicero had more feeling for wild picturesqueness than most Romans.

§ 69.

33 *maximum:* 'of the highest importance';=*caput est* in 45, l. 24; cf. 29, l. 20 *quod maius est.*

superiorem etc.: 'that he who has any advantage should place himself on an equality with him who is at a disadvantage'; *superiorem* is explained by 70, l. 9 *praestantiam virtutis ingeni fortunae.* Cf. 32, l. 22 *sintque pares in amore et aequales;* also § 56. Like Cicero, Aristotle accepts *equality* as essential to the highest kind of friendship, as in Eth. Nic. 8, 5, 5 λέγεται φιλότης ἡ ἰσότης; 8, 7, 3 ἰσότης, ὃ δὴ τῆς φιλίας εἶναι δοκεῖ. He discusses elaborately the question how this equality is to be understood and secured in friendships of different kinds, but he admits that there are friendships (such as that of parents for children) in which it cannot be secured (8, 13, 1 τῶν μὲν ἐν ἰσότητι φίλων ὄντων τῶν δὲ καθ' ὑπεροχήν).

P. 50.

1 *excellentiae quaedam:* 'certain superiorities'=ὑπεροχαί τινες; cf. 73, l. 4 *quamvis excellas;* Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 13. 1. There is however no such reference here to the αἱ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν φιλίαι of Aristotle as Seyffert supposes. This will be clear to any one who reads Eth. Nic. 8, 7.

2 *grege:* the word *grex* was often applied to philosophical schools, as in De Or. 1, 42 *philosophorum greges,* with which cf. Acad. 1, 34 *Polemo et Crates unaque Crantor in Academia congregati.* Trans. 'in our flock, if I may so call it'. For *ut ita dicam* used like *quasi tamquam quidam etc.* to qualify expressions either too strong or unusual cf. 49, l. 33.

3 *Philo...Rupilio...Mummio:* see Introd. p. 19.

anteposuit: 'never claimed for himself superiority over'.

4 *Maximum: i.e. Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus,* the eldest son of Paulus Macedonicus, and adopted into the family of the Fabii. Africanus gave up to him his share in the inheritance of their common father. See Paradoxa 48 *liberalitatem Africani qui* (*Pauli*) *hereditatis Q. Maximo fratri partem suam concessit.*

5 *omnino:* here='no doubt', 'indeed', 'it is true'; so in 98, l. 9, where however the contrast is introduced by *autem,* as in Cat. m. 45 by *sed,* and in Cat. m. 28, Tusc. 2, 35 by *sed tamen.* For the omission of the adversative particle here cf. n. on 5, l. 25.

is: the insertion of a fresh pronoun was necessary, otherwise the subject to *anteibat* might have been supposed to be Africanus, supplied from *sibi*.

6 *suosque omnis etc.:* see 11, l. 26 *liberalitate in sorores*.

§ 70.

8 *ut si quam:* the first *ut* introduces a clause explanatory of *quod*—'all must do this, I mean they must share *etc.*' Cf. 14, l. 27 *id si ita est ut*... The second *ut* is consecutive.

9 *ea:* observe the change from the singular *praestantiam* to the plural *ea*, and for similar changes see n. on 14, l. 26 *quae*.

10 *nati sint:* the subject is not *proximi* from *proximis* but *omnes* from *omnibus* above.

si: note *si* followed by *si*, the suppositions being parallel, and not contrasted with each other. Had they been contrasted *sive—sive* or *si—sin* would have been needed. In one sentence in Livy (4, 5, 5) *si* is thus eight times repeated.

11 *imbecilliore animo vel fortuna:* these are the persons mentioned in 59, l. 21 *saepe enim in quibusdam aut animus abiectior est aut spes amplificandae fortunae fractior*.

12 *opes...dignitati:* there is really chiasmus here (see n. on 23, l. 10) since *opes* refers to *fortuna*, *honori et dignitati* to *animo*. If one's friend is *imbecillo animo* (μικρόψυχος), thinking meanly of himself, one must try to confer distinction on him; if he is poor, wealth.

honori: n. on 13, l. 16 *cordi*.

fabulis: 'legends', such as that of Romulus and Remus, to which the words *deorum—pastores* rather point. Seyffert perversely insists on taking the word here and in 75, l. 22 as meaning 'plays'.

13 *ignorationem:* some of the inferior MSS have *ignorantiam*, a word which is now only found in one passage of Cicero in good editions, viz. Acad. 1, 42, and even there it cannot but be suspected, as we now possess no MS of that portion of Cicero older than the XV[th] century. The only other passages in good prose where *ignorantia* occurs are Caes. B.C. 3, 68, 2 and Nep. Ages. 8, 5; Pelop. 1, 1.

stirpis et generis: 'stock and family'; the only difference being that *stirpis* is the wider word of the two. How slight the difference is may be seen from the following passages: Verg. Aen. 4, 622 *stirpem et genus omne futurum exercete odiis*; ib. 8, 628 *illic genus omne futurae stirpis ab Ascanio*; ib. 9, 603 *durum ab stirpe genus*; Seneca Oedip. 124 *stirpis invictae genus interimus*; Attius 208 (Ribbeck) *summum periclum contaminari stirpem ac misceri genus*.

14 *famulatu:* = θητείᾳ, free service, as opposed to δουλείᾳ = *servitute*.

15 *quos:* here = *cum eos*, 'inasmuch as for many years they looked on them as their fathers'; so often; *e.g.* in 50, l. 12 *quae* = *cum ea*.

16 *multo profecto magis:* for the collocation cf. n. on *quem id recte* in 10, l. 8.

17 *in:* as in 9, p. 30, l. 3.

19 *confertur:* notice the singular verb, though there are really three subjects (*ingenium virtus praestantia*), and cf. n. on 14, l. 24 *adesset*.

§ 71.

20 *coniunctionisque:* the *coniunctio* is the natural association produced by kinship and the like, mentioned in § 19.

21 *superiores:* for the construction *superior esse in aliqua re* cf. pro Balbo 35 *in foedere inferior*.

22 *non dolere:* 'not to feel a pang'. The true friendships, Aristotle says, are free from offence (ἀδιάβλητοι, Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 7; ἀνέγκλητοι, ib. 9, 2, 7).

24 *eoque magis.* so in 2, l. 15 *et eo magis.*

25 *habere quod:* for the omission of the antecedent to the relative cf. 29, l. 28 n.

cum labore aliquo suo: 'with some expenditure of toil on their part'.

26 *queant: queo* is rarely used in positive sentences by good writers, but the usage is well attested within narrow limits; cf. Tusc. 5, 108; Cat. m. 32; De rep. 2, 6; also found in Sallust and Columella.

odiosum genus: in apposition with *plerique;* cf. 67, l. 19; 79, l. 29.

27 *odiosa exprobrantium:* 'who offensively put forward their services'. Seyffert quotes Demosth. De Cor. 316 νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον, τὸν δ' εὖ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι αὐτῶν, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν σμικροῦ δεῖν ὅμοιόν ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν; Ter. Andr. 1, 1, 16 *nam istaec commemoratio quasi exprobratio est immemoris benefici;* Seneca, De beneficiis 2, 10, 4 *inter prima praecepta et maxime necessaria sit, ne umquam exprobrem, immo ne admoneam quidem. Haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim oblivisci debet dati, alter accepti numquam.*

28 *commemorare:* n. on 15, l. 12.

§ 72.

29 *submittere se:* lit. 'to let themselves down', *i.e.* 'to be modest'.

30 *sic etc.: i.e. sic debent ei qui superiores sunt extollere eos qui sunt inferiores.*

31 *contemni:* 'slighted' or 'neglected'. *Contemnere* is hardly ever so strong in meaning as our word 'despise', which is commonly used to translate it.

32 *fere:* n. on 2, l. 14; *contingit:* n. on 8, l. 30.

33 *qui:* 'and they'.

P. 81.

1 *opera:* for reading see Appendix.

§ 73.

3 *sustinere:* Seyffert rightly explains *sustinere* here to mean *alicui oneri parem esse*, quoting Verr. 3, 189 *nam cum oratori onus aliquod imponitur, orationis ipsius vis ac ratio consideranda est, quid ea sustinere, quid pati, quid efficere possit ac debeat.* Trans. 'you must confer on each person just so much as you in the first place can secure to him, next as he whom you love and aid is able to bear'. For the omission of *possit* to be supplied from *possis* cf. n. on 30, p. 38, l. 5.

non...neque: cf. n. on 10, l. 4. Notice that there is a slight anacoluthon, the form of the sentence being changed, and for the proper clause introduced by a second *neque* the clauses introduced by *ut* are substituted. Cf. n. on 45, l. 19 *partim.* The unemphatic *tu* should be noticed; it is our English 'you' for 'one'.

4 *excellas:* cf. *excellentiae* in 69, p. 50, l. 1.

5 *perducere:* lit. 'to bring through', *i.e.* as Seyffert explains, through all the various grades. *Producere* (which some editions have) is simply 'to advance' without the notion of gradation.

potuit...non potuit: cf. n. on 19, l. 28. In Tusc. 4, 40 Rupilius is said to have taken his brother's defeat greatly to heart; and Pliny, Nat. Hist. 7, § 122 (where some recent edd. have *Rutilium* wrongly) enlarges the story by making him die immediately on hearing the result of the election.

6 *efficere: facere* would not have done here, since *facere aliquem consulem* means 'to vote for some one's election as consul'.

§ 74.

8 *amicitiae iudicandae sunt:* =*iudicandum est de amicitiis* 'a decision must be come to about friendships', though Cicero would not say *iudicare amicitias* for *de amicitiis.*

corroboratis...aetatibus: 'when strength and steadiness have come over the mind and life'. Seyffert wrongly insists on taking these ablatives (which are ablatives absolute) as ablatives of measure after *iudicandae sunt* '*by* the strengthening and steadying of the mind and life'. Had Cic. meant this he would have written *corroborandis.* But how can it be said that advancing years supply a *measure* or *standard* for judging about friendships? The *confirmata* or *corroborata aetas* is the time of life immediately succeeding youth, the καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία of Thucydides; cf. pro Caelio 41 *qua varietate non modo haec aetas sed iam corroborata caperetur.* The opposite expression is *infirmissimum tempus aetatis* in Acad. 2, 9; Flacc. 5.

11 *habere:* the construction is carried on as though *oportet iudicare de amicitiis* or something similar had preceded; old edd. indeed insert *oportet*, which is unnecessary. In Fin. 2, 103 *quod si dies notandus fuit, eumne potius quo natus an cum quo sapiens factus est* the words *oportet notare* have to be supplied from *notandus.* In his n. there Madvig excellently illustrates the usage both from Latin and from Greek.

11 *isto modo:* 'on that principle'; so *ista ratione* commonly, and occasionally *ista condicione*, as in De Or. 1, 101.

nutrices et paedagogi: generally at Rome these were slaves.

13 *vetustatis:* n. on 68, l. 26.

14 *quidem:* here concessive, 'I admit', as in 13, l. 16.

alio quodam modo: so in 7, l. 6. For *quodam* see n. on 6, p. 29, l. 1; for the constr. 68, ll. 25, 26. For the reading *aestimandi* see Appendix.

15 *dispares mores etc.:* 'diversity of character is accompanied by diversity of taste, and dissimilarity of taste severs friendships'. *Mores* is undoubtedly in the accusative, not, as Lahm. suggests, in the nominative = *homines disparibus moribus; homines secuntur studia* is certainly not Latin. For the *morum similitudo* as a necessary condition of friendship cf. §§ 15, 27, 33 (*mutari...mores*), 50; also Aristotle Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 6 ὁμοιότητά τινα τιθέασιν αὐτὴν (φιλίαν) καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους φίλους; ib. 8, 3, 6 τελεία δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν φιλία καὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὁμοίων; ib. 8, 8, 5 ἡ δὲ ἰσότης καὶ ὁμοιότης φιλότης καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἡ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ὁμοιότης; ib. 9, 3, 3 τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ φίλον.

17 *boni ..possunt:* cf. 18, l. 3.

20 *distantia:* a *vox Ciceroniana.* The word is in good Latin never used of distance in space. Aristotle several times discusses the question how great a difference in character or other circumstances is required to render friendships impossible. Cf. Eth. Nic. 8, 7, 4 δῆλον δὲ κἂν πολὺ διάστημα γίγνηται ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἢ εὐπορίας ἤ τινος ἄλλου· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι φίλοι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀξιοῦσιν...ἀκριβὴς μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρισμὸς, ἕως τίνος οἱ φίλοι· πολλῶν γὰρ ἀφαιρουμένων ἔτι μένει, πολὺ δὲ χωρισθέντος, οἷον τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἔτι.

§ 75.

21 *quaedam:* n. on 6, p. 29, l. 1.

22 *nec enim:* followed by *et saepe* instead of *nec;* for the slight *anacoluthon* cf. 79, ll. 32, 33; 104, ll. 20, 21.

fabulas: n. on 70, l. 12; cf. Off. 3, 94 *ut redeamus ad fabulas.*

23 *Neoptolemus:* or Pyrrhus, son of Achilles by Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. He appears in the Philoctetes as an ambassador to that hero, without whose bow it was fated Troy should not fall. Welcker thinks that Cicero here refers to a scene in a lost play of Sophocles entitled αἱ Σκύριαι.

25 *magnae res:* 'great tasks'. For *incidunt* cf. 33, l. 5.

27 *mollisque:* the *que* merely connects *infirmus* with *mollis* and does not correspond with the first *et.* [In Cicero and the best writers *et* and *que* do not correspond.] To shew this trans. 'is not only weak and effeminate, but also ...'.

28 *parum iustus:* 'far from reasonable'; *parum* almost = *non*, as *minus* in 23, l. 13.

§ 76.

atque...impetrari: this is a little summary of §§ 73—75. Such summaries are often introduced by *atque* = 'now', as in Acad. 1, 43.

in omni re: 'on every occasion'.

32 *iam enim etc.:* the *verae amicitiae* or *perfectae* are *sempiternae*; see 32, l. 28 and Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 7 ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη φιλία (*sc.* τῶν ἀγαθῶν) μόνιμός ἐστιν. The question of the dissolution of friendships was partially discussed in §§ 32 sq. and is considered by Aristotle in Eth. Nic. 9, 3.

sapientium: = *virorum bonorum* as defined in § 21.

33 *volgaris amicitias:* these differ only in degree from the *verae amicitiae*, being based on a less degree of *virtus*, since *virtus a caritate volgi non abhorret* (50, l. 14), hence they must not be confounded with the φιλίαι based on τὸ ἡδὺ and τὸ ὠφέλιμον which Aristotle so often discusses. These latter friendships Cicero refuses to deal with (§ 58 and elsewhere).

oratio delabitur: so 100, l. 8 *oratio defluxit*, and cf. Qu. Fr. 1. 1, 18 *ad praecipiendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea*. For the sense also § 100 is to be compared.

P. 52.

1 *erumpunt in:* 'break out upon'.

tum...tum: here purely temporal, 'at one time, at another'. So in 13, l. 18.

2 *alienos:* n. on 19, l. 25.

quorum: = *talium ut*, hence *redundet* not *redundat*.

3 *usus:* = *consuetudinis*, κοινωνίας, as in 32, l. 21; 2, l. 15 *utebare multum*.

eluendae: the word *eluere*, lit. 'to wipe out', is particularly used of disgrace or crime; *e.g. eluere maculam* in Sest. 63; Verr. 5, 121; *scelus* in Verg. Aen. 6, 742.

ut Catonem dicere audivi: 'as I have been told Cato used to say', not 'as I have heard Cato say' which would require *dicentem* or *cum diceret*; cf. 88, l. 14.

4 *dissuendae etc.:* cf. Off. 1, 120 *amicitias magis decere censent sapientes sensim diluere quam repente praecidere*; below, 78, l. 19 *exstinctae potius quam oppressae*. Observe *magis* in the one place and *potius* in the other, for which cf. n. on 27, l. 31.

5 *exarserit:* from *exardescere*, the verb *exardere* occurring only in very late Latin, as in the Vulgate. The metaphorical use is exceedingly common in Cicero; cf. 29, l. 26.

6 *rectum...honestum:* there is no appreciable difference in meaning between these words.

statim: cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 3, 2 ἆρ' οὖν εὐθὺς διαλυτέον ἢ οὐ πᾶσιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνιάτοις διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν.

§ 77.

7 *aut morum aut studiorum:* the first *aut* corresponds to *aut* before *in rei publicae.* It is exceedingly likely that the second *aut* should be changed into *et;* cf. 74, l. 19 *morum studiorumque.*

8 *commutatio ut fieri solet:* 33, l. 6 *mutari etiam mores hominum saepe.*

9 *in rei publicae partibus.* 'in connexion with political parties'; lit. 'in the divisions of the commonwealth'.

11 *communibus:* = *volgaribus* in 76, p. 25, l. 33.

14 *Q. Pompei etc.:* the grandfather of the Pompeius mentioned in § 2; he raised himself to the consulship as a *novus homo* in 141 B.C. (Brut. 96; Verr. 5, 181). Laelius was a candidate and Pompeius was said to have promised Scipio that he would not stand himself but support Laelius.

16 *Metello: i.e. Macedonico,* the praetor of 148, who commanded in Greece till 146, when he returned and was the leader of the anti-Scipionic party. The quarrel, which was very famous, began with the despatch of Mummius, who was connected with the Scipios, to command in Achaia. Metellus became consul in 143 after two failures, and commanded against Viriathus. In 131 he was censor and lived till 115. He was an augur; hence *collega* of Laelius.

17 *et:* this does not correspond with *ac,* but *graviter ac moderate* go together and form one expression. *Et* and *ac* do not correspond in Cic.; cf. n. on 75, l. 27.

§ 78.

13 *quam ob rem...iniuriam:* these sentences summarise and emphatically repeat the sense of the two preceding sections.

19 *ut extinctae etc.:* 'that the friendships may seem to have burnt out rather than to have been extinguished'. Cf. Cat. m. 71 *adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur; senes autem sic, ut sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur.*

20 *cavendum vero:* for the omission of *est* cf. n. on 14, l. 31.

23 *tolerabiles:* agreeing with the last only of the three words *iurgia maledicta contumeliae.*

honos tribuendus: so Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9. 3. 5 ἆρ' οὖν οὐθὲν ἀλλοιότερον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐστὶν ἢ εἰ μὴ ἐγεγόνει φίλος μηδέποτε, ἢ δεῖ μνείαν ἔχειν τῆς γενομένης συνηθείας; καὶ καθάπερ φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ ὀθνείοις οἰόμεθα δεῖν χαρίζεσθαι οὕτω καὶ τοῖς γενομένοις ἀπονεμητέον τι διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην φιλίαν, ὅταν μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν μοχθηρίας ἡ διάλυσις γένηται.

25 *omnino:* here = 'to sum up'; 'looking at the matter as a whole'.

27 *una cautio est:* for the form of expression cf. Acad. 2, 51 *omnium inanium visorum una depulsio est;* Att. 12, 33, 1 *una est vitatio;* ib.

15, 1 A, 1 *ad haec omnia una consolatio est.* In all these passages the verbal noun in *-tio* conveys the notion of *possibility*.

ut ne: n. on 42, l. 26.

28 *non dignos:* put for *indignos*, apparently because of *digni autem* following.

§ 79.

29 *quibus in ipsis:* probably not put for *in quibus ipsis*, but rather *quibus* is a dative (*dativus commodi*); 'who possess (lit. 'for whom there is') in themselves some reason for securing affection'.

rarum genus: cf. n. on 67, l. 10 *indigna homine dubitatio.* Aristotle Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 8 σπανίας δὲ εἰκὸς τὰς τοιαύτας (φιλίας) εἶναι· ὀλίγοι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι.

30 *omnia praeclara rara:* the omission of the predicate is particularly common in proverbs, where also assonance (*praecl-ara r-ara*) is much sought after. For the ellipse cf. Acad. 1, 14 *sus Minervam* (*docet*), Pis. 69 *claudus pilam* (*iacit*). So in Greek χαλεπὰ τὰ καλά.

31 *in suo genere perfectum:* so Tusc. 5, 37 *natura quidquid genuit in suo quidque genere perfectum esse voluit.*

32 *neque...et:* n. on 75, l. 22.

33 *amicos tamquam pecudes:* the same comparison is used by Plato in the Theaetetus 174 D τύραννόν τε γὰρ ἢ βασιλέα ἐγκωμιαζόμενον ἕνα τῶν νομέων ἡγεῖται (ὁ φιλόσοφος) ἀκούειν εὐδαιμονιζόμενον πολὺ βδάλλοντα. Cf. the trite line of Ovid, Pont. 2, 3, 8 *volgus amicitias utilitate probat.*

§ 80. P. 53.

2 *naturali:* cf. §§ 31, 32.

3 *per se et propter se:* 'in and for itself'.

expetita: n. on 22, l. 24.

nec ipsi sibi etc.: 'nor do they take themselves as examples to shew what and how great the power of this friendship is'.

4 *haec vis:* i.e. *vis huius naturalis amicitiae.*

et...et: after the negative (*nec*) *aut...aut* would have been more usual. Cf. *que* for *sed* in 30, p. 38, l. 1 n.

ipse se: n. on 5, l. 28.

6 *quod idem:* these words go together, as in 13, l. 22.

8 *alter idem:* cf. 23, l. 6 *verum amicum qui intuetur tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui*; Arist. Eth. Nic. 9, 4, 5 ἔστι γὰρ ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αὐτός; Fam. 2, 15, 4 *alterum me.*

§ 81.

9 *bestiis etc.:* for the arrangement of the epithets in two groups, one of three and another of two, Nauck well compares Tusc. 1, 64 *omnia, supera infera, prima media ultima.* Nägelsbach quotes Fam. 13, 29, 5 *rogo ut hanc rem | suscipias, mecum putes esse | enitare contendas efficias.*

10 *ut:* for this following on *apparet* cf. n. on 50, l. 5 *veriora esse ut.*

se ipsae: above, l. 4; below, l. 14. The principle that self-preservation is the first instinct of animals formed the starting-point of the Stoic Ethics. Cf. Fin. 3, 16 sq.

pariter...nascitur: 'is born with every creature in an equal degree'.

ad quas se applicent: n. on 49, p. 43, l. 32.

14 *quanto id magis:* n. on *quam id recte* in 10, l. 8.

16 *unum ex duobus:* cf. 92, l. 31 *ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus.*

§ 82.

17 *ne dicam:* the phrase is elliptic = *hoc dico ne dicam*, and *impudenter*, which may be regarded as in inverted commas, stands as object of *dicam.* Cf. n. on 48, l. 18 *non dico.*

18 *habere talem amicum etc.:* the theory that friendship is based on want of resemblance and not on resemblance enters into the Platonic Lysis 215 C sq. Cf. especially 215 D μάλιστα τὰ ὁμοιότατα πρὸς ἄλληλα φθόνου τε καὶ φιλονεικίας καὶ ἔχθρας ἐμπίπλασθαι τὰ δὲ ἀνομοιότατα φιλίας. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 8, 8, 6 sq. decides that it is almost entirely the lower kind of friendship (ἡ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον) which is based on lack of resemblance.

20 *par est...quaerere:* cf. §§ 32, 51.

ipsum: in agreement with *aliquem* (τινὰ) unexpressed. Cf. 59, l. 29 *ut si (quis) esset osurus;* where Cobet needlessly alters *esset* into *esses.*

21 *quam iam dudum tractamus:* cf. 65, p. 49, l. 2 *eam quam iam dudum tracto constantiam.*

22 *confirmari potest:* 'may be strengthened'.

23 *cupiditatibus:* those mentioned in §§ 61, 62 as frequently bringing destruction to friendships.

24 *aequitate iustitiaque: aequitas* is the view of justice taken by a man of high principle and honour, *iustitia* the legal or technical view.

25 *neque quicquam etc.:* cf. §§ 36—40.

27 *inter se:* = *alter alterum;* cf. Roby § 2306.

§ 83.

30 *libidinum etc.:* 'that in friendship the gate is open to unrestrained passion and sin'.

31 *virtutum...comes:* Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 1 φιλία ἐστιν ἀρετή τις ἢ μετ' ἀρετῆς; Plato Lysis 214 D ὁ ἀγαθὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ μόνος μόνῳ φίλος, ὁ δὲ κακὸς οὔτ' ἀγαθῷ οὔτε κακῷ οὐδέποτε εἰς ἀληθῆ φιλίαν ἔρχεται. Beier quotes Pythagoras' saying συνδεσμὸν πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι τὴν φιλίαν. Cf. § 19.

a natura data est: in Cic. *a natura* and *natura dari* both frequently occur. In the former phrase *natura* is personified, in the latter *natura* is used adverbially = φύσει.

32 *solitaria:* cf. §§ 30, 87, 88.

33 *ea quae summa sunt:* 'the highest moral views'; cf. Arch. 14 *illa quae summa sunt...nihil esse in vita magno opere expetendum nisi laudem atque honestatem, in ea autem persequenda omnis cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsili parvi esse ducenda.*

P. 54.

1 *altera:* as *virtus* above = *homo virtute praeditus* so *altera* here = *alterius hominis virtute.* Cf. *virtutem* in 48, l. 20.

quos inter: as a rule, only dissyllabic prepositions follow the cases to which they are attached, except when some attribute is attached to the noun or pronoun, *e.g. multis in rebus* below, 85, l. 14. Seyffert makes the strange and unfounded statement (after Zumpt) that the preposition only follows its case when it governs a relative pronoun.

2 *eorum etc.:* 'theirs is to be regarded as the best and richest companionship on the path to nature's highest good'. For *natura* cf. 19 l. 20 *naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.*

§ 84.

4 *in qua omnia insunt:* 'which brings with it everything'.

5 *honestas...iucunditas:* the enumeration consists of three branches, the last of the three being subdivided (*tranquillitas atque iucunditas*). Had *iucunditas* and *tranquillitas* occupied in the enumeration the same place as the other two things mentioned, Cicero must have left out *atque.* See n. on 12, p. 31, l. 7. For *expetenda* see n. on 22, l. 24: for the collocation *tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas* n. on 8, l. 22 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi.* Seyffert seems to think that *honestas* is not used here in its ordinary Ciceronian sense of 'morality', though he does not say what meaning he gives it.

6 *ut et...possit:* this clause is one of the most difficult in the treatise, though passed over by Nauck and Lahmeyer. It seems to contain a tacit protest against the Stoic ethics which made *honestas* (τὸ καλὸν = virtue) everything; Laelius asserts that perfect happiness (for *beata vita* cf. n. on 45, l. 25 *beate vivendum*) contains other things as well, and that the perfection of friendship and the perfection of happiness are inextricably connected.

7 *quod:* this refers back to the last sentence and not forwards to *id.*

11 *gravis aliqui casus: aliquis*, which is substantival, *aliqui* being adjectival, could scarcely have been used here, since the adjective *gravis* is in juxtaposition. In 87, l. 8 however *aliquis deus;* cf. n. on 22, l. 21.

experiri: cf. §§ 53, 64. Seyffert quotes from Plutarch a saying of Euripides τὸ φίλων πεῖραν λαβεῖν οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν, and from Stobaeus one of Philemon εὔχου μὴ λαβεῖν πεῖραν φίλων.

§ 85.

12 *cum...iudicaris:* these words can be shewn to be taken from Theophrastus περὶ φιλίας (see Introd. p. 11) for Plutarch περὶ φιλαδελφίας c. 8

quotes as from Theophrastus the words *τοὺς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίους οὐ φιλοῦντα δεῖ κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ κρίναντα φιλεῖν*; so Seneca ep. 3 *isti vero praepostere officia permiscent qui contra praecepta Theophrasti cum amaverint iudicant, et non amant, cum iudicaverint.* Ammianus Marcellinus 26, 2, 9 puts Cicero's words, slightly altered, into the mouth of Valentinian, in a speech made by him on being raised to the throne.

14 *tum maxime etc.:* cf. § 62.

16 *acta agimus:* an oxymoron (so 'to slay the slain') for which Seyffert compares Plut. Mil. 3, 1, 41 *nota noscere;* Poen. 4, 2, 48 *doctum docere;* Cic. Fam. 14, 1, 12 *puerum perditum perdere.* As to the proverb, Donatus on Terent. Adelph. 2, 2, 24 (quoted by Seyffert) not improbably conjectures that it originated in the law courts, *ubi quod semel iudicatum est frustra iterum agitur.* Cf. 59, l. 28 *inimiciorem amicitiae;* also n. on 23, l. 7.

vetamur: sc. facere.

17 *ultro et citro:* here = 'mutually', as in the common phrase *data ultro citroque fide* (Liv. 29, 23, 5).

18 *cursu:* cf. 63, l. 2.

§ 86.

19 *rei incuria.* = *de re i.;* cf. n. on 20, p. 34, l. 1 *rerum consensio.*

20 *una:* by attraction for *unum* ('the one thing'; for this usage see n. on 50, l. 10.

22 *quamquam:* elliptic, the full sense being 'most men agree about virtue *yet etc.*'; for the ellipse cf. 33, p. 39, l. 2.

multis: chiefly the Epicureans.

25 *quam multi etc.:* not exactly in accord with 63 l. 8 *ubi eos inveniemus etc.* Observe *quam multi;* no good writers use *quot* as a substantive. So in 57, l. 6 *quam multa.* Cic. however often prefers to use *quam multi, tam multi* where *quot, tot* would be permissible; so 35, l. 26 *haec illa multa quasi fata.*

29 *ad unum:* 'to a man'.

et ei...et ei: those who follow the *πολιτικὸς βίος* and those who follow the *θεωρητικὸς βίος*. One of the main questions which divided the later Greek philosophers was that of the comparative value of these two lives. Cf. n. on 10, l. 6.

31 *otiosi:* here, as often, implies merely the freedom from *public* duties; cf. 16, l. 19.

32 *vitam esse nullam:* for the phrase see n. on 22, l. 18; for this Epicurean opinion cf. n. on 56, l. 32.

33 *liberaliter:* = *libero digne;* cf. 89, l. 10.

P. 65. § 87.

1 *serpit:* n. on 41, l. 18.

4 *ut:* on the position of *ut*, second word in the clause, cf. n. on 46, l. 17.

5 *Timonem:* the μισάνθρωπος who is the subject of Shakespeare's play, a contemporary of Socrates.

nescio quem: the editors all misinterpret this, making it an expression intended to indicate Timon's insignificance. But Cicero often inserts *quidam*, *nescio quis* and the like, when it is necessary, in mentioning some Greek, to avoid the appearance of too great a familiarity with Greek literature. The Roman statesmen of the dialogue could not be presumed to know Timon except by vague report. In telling a story of Xenocrates to a Roman jury (who objected to Greek learning in an advocate), Cicero calls him *quidam* (Balb. § 12); so of the Stoics *non nulli litteris ac studiis doctrinae dediti* (Balb. § 1). *Nescio quem* here has the same purpose as *ut opinor* below, 88 l. 14. Cf. also n. on 24, l. 18 *doctum quendam.*

6 *possit: not potuisset*, because the statement is general, and *is*=*talis homo*, as in 59, l. 23 and often.

evomat: the metaphorical use is common, as in *eructare*, ἐξεμεῖν.

virus acerbitatis: 'gall of bitterness'.

8 *contingere:* n. on 8, l. 30.

12 *tam esset ferreus;* for the arrangement n. on 10, l. 8 *quam id recte.* For *ferreus* cf. 48, l. 20, and for the sense Aristotle Politics 1, 2, 14 ὁ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος κοινωνεῖν ἢ μηθὲν δεόμενος δι' αὐτάρκειαν, οὐθὲν μέρος πόλεως, ὥστε ἢ θηρίον ἢ θεός.

§ 88.

14 *quod etc.:* 'which I have heard it said that our old men tell as a customary saying of the Tarentine Archytas, I believe, having received it from other aged men'. For *audivi commemorare* cf. n. on 76, p. 52, l. 3. For a similar traditional saying of Archytas (a Pythagorean, lived about 400—365 B.C.) see Cato m. 39 and cf. ib. 43 *saepe audivi a maioribus natu qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant.*

18 *illam:*=*eius rei;* cf. n. on 2, l. 13 *eum sermonem.*

quae fuisset: Nauck takes these words as being those of Laelius, and not part of his report of Archytas; otherwise, he says, Cic. would have written *quam fore:* see however n. on 45, l. 25.

si aliquem: see n. on 27, l. 6.

20 *semperque etc.:* 'and always strives after some prop, so to speak, which prop is most acceptable when found in the best friend'.

tamquam: so in 45, l. 26.

23 *obsurdescimus:* 'we stop our ears against her'.

24 *est enim...amicitiae:* 'now the intercourse in friendship is extensive and manifold'.

25 *varius et multiplex:* so Acad. 1, 16 *Platonis ..qui varius et multiplex fuit*, and below, 92, l. 33; also n. on 65, p. 48, l. 31.

27 *una illa etc.*: 'there is one grievance to which we are to submit in order that we may maintain both usefulness and loyalty in friendship'. For the explanatory *nam* succeeding *illa* cf. N. D. 2, 138 *illa potius explicetur incredibilis fabrica naturae: nam etc.;* also Madvig on Fin. 3, 26. The MSS reading *sublevanda* retained by Nauck gives no suitable sense. [Yet C. F. W. M. retains it.]

28 *et monendi et obiurgandi*: 'must be not only advised but even reproved'; so 44, l. 15 *et adhibeatur auctoritas ad monendum non modo aperte sed etiam acriter si res postulabit;* below 89, p. 56, l. 6 *monitio—obiurgatio.*

29 *accipienda:* n. on 40, l. 6.

§ 89.

31 *familiaris meus:* cf. Introd. pp. 14, 17.

32 *obsequium etc.:* Terent. Andr. 1, 1, 41 (l. 68). *Obsequium* here in a bad sense = flattery; often however used in the good sense of 'deference', as below.

P. 56.

1 *molesta veritas:* for the omission of *est* cf. n. on 14, l. 31 *sin illa veri ... ra.*

siquidem: 'inasmuch as'.

4 *in fraudem impellitur:* 'is driven on to destruction'. *Fraus* often means, as here, 'harm', 'injury'.

5 *habenda etc.:* Cicero says both *habere rationem* and *adhibere rationem* (Leg. Agr. 2, 2) but only *adhibere diligentiam*, so that there is here a slight zeugma (unless *adhibenda* is to be substituted for *habenda*).

6 *monitio:* said to occur here only in Cicero, who commonly uses *admonitio.*

ut...careat: 'that reproof may be unaccompanied by insult'.

7 *in obsequio:* 'in the payment of deference'.

9 *adiutrix:* n. on 37, l. 16.

non modo...sed ne quidem: Cic. also uses *non modo non...sed ne quidem*, the difference between the two phrases merely lying in this, that when *non* is expressed it is more emphatic than when it has to be supplied from the negative in the succeeding clause. Observe that *non modo* cannot stand for *non modo non* except when a negative follows.

10 *libero:* adjective for substantive. The edd. say that the use is rendered permissible by the proximity of *amico*, but the phrase *libero dignus* is commonly used without any such restraint; *e.g.* De Or. 1, 17, 72; cf. also ib. 137 *id quod est homine ingenuo liberaliterque educato dignum.*

tyranno: cf. 52, p. 44, l. 33 *tyrannorum vita.*

§ 90.

11 *cuius autem etc.:* Cicero was very likely thinking of Hesiod's well-known lines (Works and Days 293) οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα

νοήσῃ· | ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται. | ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων | ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ.

13 *scitum:* 'a neat saying'.

illud Catonis: like τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος *etc.* in Greek.

ut multa: cf. Fin. 1, 7 *facete is quidem sicut alia* (so Madvig rightly reads).

16 *atque illud absurdum: sc. est;* n. on 14, l. 31.

17 *non capiunt...capiunt:* n. on 19, l. 28.

18 *obiurgari:* for the asyndeton cf. n. on 5, l. 25.

19 *quod contra:* Seyffert, and after him Lahmeyer, takes *quod* as though it were governed by *contra*, the preposition thus being put after its case. I believe the *quod* to be merely a connecting link between the clauses, like the 'which' in vulgar English and sometimes ὅ in Thucydides and Plato at the beginning of sentences or clauses; in fact the use is the same as that in *quod si* at the beginning of a clause or sentence.

§ 91.

21 *et monere et moneri est:* for the singular verb cf. 14, l. 23 *cum et Philus et Manilius adesset.*

proprium est amicitiae: n. on 26, l. 24.

22 *libere:* μετὰ παρρησίας; n. on 44, l. 13.

23 *sic habendum est:* the edd. after Seyffert all take *sic* not as corresponding to *ut*, but as going closely with *habendum est* (cf. 10, l. 7 *sic habetote*) and as referring to what comes after, the words from *nullam* to *assentationem* being thus an explanation of *sic*. The *sic* which should correspond with *ut* is supposed to have fallen out. I prefer to take *ut* and *sic* as corresponding: 'as...so we must consider that *etc.*'. Cicero certainly uses *habendum est* alone followed by an infinitive clause. Cf. Off. 2, 51 *nec tamen, ut hoc fugiendum est, item est habendum religioni nocentem aliquando modo ne nefarium impiumque defendere*, where Cic. might have written *item sic est habendum, religioni esse etc.*

24 *pestem:* cf. 34, l. 14 *pestem...amicitiis* (dative).

adulationem blanditiam assentationem: 'fawning, wheedling and flattery'. *Adulatio* is the worst fault, and corresponds to the Greek κολακεία: cf. Tac. Hist. 1, 1, 4 *adulationi foedum crimen servitutis inest;* Cic. uses it of dogs in N. D. 2, 158 *canum tam amans dominorum adulatio. Blanditia* is more like the Greek ἀρέσκεια, an excessive desire to please. [This is one of many words commonly used only in the plural, but by Cic. also in the singular; in 61, l. 22 *blanditia*.] *Assentatio* is the fault of those *qui omnia ad voluntatem loquuntur* (98, l. 14).

25 *multis nominibus:* cf. Fin. 3, 14 *erit enim notius quale sit pluribus notatum vocabulis idem declarantibus.*

26 *levium:* the opposite would be *constantium.*

voluptatem: for the reading see Appendix. Cf. Orator 38 *ad voluptatem aurium scribere;* De Or. 3, 177; also πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγειν.

28 *iudicium veri:* 'our power to judge of truth'. Cic. often uses *iudicium veri* in another sense to translate the Greek κριτήριον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς; cf. Acad. 2, 29.

§ 92.

29 *idque: id = verum*, not *iudicium veri* as Seyffert and Nägelsbach take it.

30 *nomen amicitiae:* n. on 6, p. 29, l. 5 *nomen sapientis*.

valere non potest; 'can have no meaning'. Cf. 19, l. 29 *nomen amicitiae tollitur.*

31 *amicitiae vis:* cf. 15, l. 10 *etc.*

unus quasi animus: n. on 81, l. 16.

32 *quoque:* this is *quōque* not *quŏque*. For the sense cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 4, 8 διαφέρονται γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς (οἱ φαῦλοι): ib. 9 στασιάζει γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή; Plato, Lysis 214 C ἀλλά μοι δοκοῦσι λέγειν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὁμοίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις καὶ φίλους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς μηδέποτε ὁμοίους μηδ' αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἀλλ' ἐμπλήκτους καὶ ἀσταθμήτους.

33 *varius...multiplex:* above, 65, p. 48, l. 31; 88, l. 25.

§ 93. P. 57.

1 *devium:* 'erratic'.

2 *sensum ac voluntatem:* 'feeling and inclination'.

3 *convertitur:* De Or. 3, 177 *orationis genus ad omnem aurium voluptatem et animorum motum mutatur et vertitur.*

4 *negat quis:* this is no hypothesis; *i.e.* it must not be supposed that there is an ellipse of *si;* there is rather a picture of very common occurrences in Gnatho's life; 'a man says no, I say no; then he says yes and I say yes'. The use of the verb is therefore not to be compared with that of *roges* in N. D. 1, 57 *roges me...nihil respondeam,* nor even with τεθνᾶσι in the well-known passage of Euripides' Medea (καὶ δὴ τεθνᾶσι). The lines are in Terence, Eunuchus 2, 2, 21 (l. 250). For the contrast of *negat* and *ait* cf. Acad. 2, 104 *ut neque neget aliquid neque aiat.*

5 *omnia:* used adverbially; 'throughout', 'in everything'.

6 *persona:* n. on 4, l. 9.

quod amici etc.: 'and it belongs to lightmindedness to attach to oneself at all a friend of that kind'. For *omnino* cf. 87, l. 11; for *id genus amici = amicum eius generis* n. on 4, l. 15.

§ 94.

8 *similes: sc. sunt;* for the omission cf. 89, p. 56, l. 1, *molesta veritas,* and n. on 14, l. 31. *Cum* = 'though'.

loco: 'origin'; *i.e. loco quo nati sunt.*

9 *cum...accessit:* so 48, l. 29 *cum contigit.*

vanitatem: lit. 'emptiness'; *i.e.* 'worthlessness'.

§ 95.

10 *secerni...internosci:* for the arrangement of the words see n. on 8, l. 22. Plutarch wrote a tract entitled πῶς ἄν τις διακρίνειε κόλακα τοῦ φίλου.

11 *fucata...veris:* there is no chiasmus here; *fucata* corresponds to *sinceris* and *simulata* to *veris*.

12 *imperitissimis:* superlative adjective as substantive; so often in Cicero *familiarissimi, inimicissimi, iniquissimi*. The substantival use of the *comparative* adjective is less common. Seyffert quotes Xen. Mem. 3, 7, 5 where Socrates calls the voters in the Athenian ecclesia ἀφρονεστάτους καὶ ἀσθενεστάτους.

13 *inter...et inter:* the repetition of the preposition is not required by modern idiom; it is adopted here for the sake of clearness. In 48, l. 18 *inter pecudem et hominem*. Cf. n. on 12, l. 25.

§ 96.

15 *C. Papirius etc.:* in 130 B.C. Carbo (see n. on 39, p. 41, l. 2) proposed a law *ut eundem tribunum plebi quotiens vellet creare liceret* (Livy, epit. 59). The proposal failed, but at some date before 123 B.C. a law was carried which allowed the re-election of outgoing tribunes when the number of candidates was not sufficient to fill all the places (Appian, Bell. Civ. 1, 21).

16 *influebat:* so *irrepere illabi* and *insinuare* (below, 99, l. 28) are often used. Cf. Off. 2, 31 *in universorum animos tamquam influere;* Fin. 1, 39 *si ea sola voluptas esset quae quasi titillaret sensus ut ita dicam et ad eos cum suavitate afflueret et illaberetur*.

ferret: here 'was trying to carry'; so *transferebatur* below.

17 *nihil de me etc.:* Acad. 2, 66 *non de me sed de sapiente;* De Or. 3, 74 *non de memet ipso sed de oratore*.

19 *ducem...comitem:* n. on 37, p. 40, l. 12. Scipio appeared to be the leader of the nation, though then not a magistrate but only a *homo privatus*.

20 *est in manibus:* 'is published', 'is commonly read'. A common use; cf. De Or. 1, 94 *libellus qui me invito excidit et pervenit in manus hominum*. But in Cat. m. 38 *septimus liber originum est in manibus* the sense is different, 'I have *on hand* the seventh book of my *Origines*'. Cf. 102, l. 4.

21 *popularis...populi:* intentional contrast.

22 *redeam:* n. on 1, l. 10; 75, l. 22.

Q. Maximo: n. on 69, p. 50, l. 4.

23 *et L. Mancino:* the insertion of *et* is due to the interposition of the words *fratre Scipionis;* otherwise Cic. would have written *Q. Maximo L. Mancino consulibus*. L. Hostilius Mancinus served in the third Punic war, and was one of the first who entered Carthage when it was stormed. He is said to have gained the consulship by having war-scenes painted

and exhibited in the forum, where he attended and explained the pictures to the multitude (Plin. Nat. Hist. 35, § 23).

quam videbatur: for the indicative, though dependent on *meministis*, cf. the common use in poets of the indicative after *nonne vides ut* and the like; also for *quam* n. on 37, l. 9.

lex...Crassi: C. Licinius Crassus, tribune in 145, proposed to make election to all priesthoods go by popular vote. When a vacancy occurred in a priestly college the remaining members filled up the vacancy as they pleased. A measure like that of Crassus was carried in 104 by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a tribune. In opposing the law of Crassus, Laelius (whose oration is mentioned in Brut. 83; N. D. 3, 5 and 43, in which last passage it is called *aureola*) maintained that the state had no right to control the order of religious observance. A curious method was adopted to get over this objection. The election to priesthoods was at an assembly of a minority (17) of the 35 tribes, the particular tribes which took part in it being determined by lot. While, theoretically, a resolution of the minority of the nation had no binding effect, and therefore could not be offensive to the gods, still in practice the colleges were bound to appoint the persons so nominated, though the form of *cooptatio* was gone through. The colleges of priests had great influence in politics, hence the aristocrats desired to keep the offices in their own hands.

25 *ad populi beneficium transferebatur:* 'was being changed into a matter of public patronage'. Magistracies are often called *beneficia populi Romani;* see my n. on Arch. § 11.

26 *primus instituit etc.:* the interpretation of this passage is difficult. Plutarch, life of C. Gracchus c. 5, tells the tale of C. Gracchus, and assigns to the act a democratic purpose. Our passage certainly seems to countenance Plutarch in this, but Lange, Römische Alterthumer II² 443, denies that the act had any political aim. He connects it with a change in the voting at public assemblies. This originally took place in the *comitium*, which formed a small part of what was ordinarily called the *forum*. Lange thinks that when the voting was transferred from the *comitium* to the *saepta* (enclosures) the speakers naturally turned their backs on the *comitium* and faced the *saepta*, the *rostra* being placed between them. The matter is far from clear, and Lange's explanation seems scarcely to fit in with our passage.

agere cum populo: the technical phrase for the laying of matters before the people in their assemblies.

27 *vendibilem:* 'plausible'; lit. 'saleable'. So Brut. 174 *vendibilis oratio;* Fin. 1, 12 *nam ut sint illa vendibiliora, haec uberiora certe sunt.*

28 *praeter me:* as the regular age for the praetorship was 40, Laelius was probably born about 186 B.C.

29 *re...auctoritate:* since Laelius was not consul, he carried his case owing to its inherent goodness and not from the *auctoritas* conferred by office, which was then not *summa*.

§ 97.

31 *in scena, id est in contione:* 'on the stage, I mean before a public assembly'. Seyffert has very fully illustrated the comparison between speaking on the stage and speaking before the people. Cf. De Or. 2, 338 *quia maxima quasi oratori scena videatur contiones;* Ad Brut. 1, 9, 2 *nunc populo et scenae, ut dicitur, serviendum est;* Brut. 6 *forum quod fuisset quasi theatrum illius ingeni;* so De Or. 3, 177 *scenam pompamque;* Hor. Sat. 2, 1, 71 *quin ubi se a volgo et scena in secreta remorant* (of Scipio and Laelius).

contione: so rightly spelt, not *concione.*

32 *adumbratis: adumbrare* is 'to give in outline, or incompletely'; the reference here is to misleading the people, not by actual lies, but by partial presentation of the truth, *quod valet si modo i l l u s t r a t u m e s t.*

P. 58.

1 *illustratum:* 'brought into full light'; the word contrasts exactly with *adumbratis* above.

2 *tota: totă* not *totā.*

veritate perpenditur: 'is judged by its truth'. *Perpendere* is here the equivalent of *metiri* in 21, l. 13; the ablative construction similarly follows on *metiri* there and on *iudicare* in 74, l. 9.

3 *ut dicitur:* n. on *ut aiunt* in 19, l. 15.

4 *exploratum habeas:* n. on 52, l. 29.

amare...amari: the subject of these infinitives (which depend on *exploratum habeas*) is *te:* 'you would have no certainty that you either love or are loved, knowing nothing of the degree of sincerity with which the love is given'. *Id* refers to both verbs *amare* and *amari.* For *id quam vere fiat,* cf. *quam id recte faciam* in 10, l. 9, and *quam vis honeste id facerent* in 35, l. 20. Nauck is right, however, in saying that *id* here is object of *ignores* and not subject of *fiat.*

5 *quamquam:* = καίτοι, 'and yet'; so 29, l. 23; 33, p. 39, l. 2 and often.

8 *patefaciat:* so Off. 1, 91 *cavendum est ne assentatoribus patefaciamus auris, neve adulari nos sinamus, in quo falli facile est. Tales enim nos esse putamus, ut iure laudemur.*

9 *se...ipse:* n. on 5, l. 28 *te ipse.*

§ 98.

omnino: n. on 69, p. 50, l. 5.

11 *virtutis opinione:* 'supposed virtue'. The same phrase occurs in a different sense in 37, l. 16.

13 *esse quam videri:* Lahmeyer quotes Aeschyl. Sept. 574 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει, and Sall. Cat. 54, 5 *esse quam videri bonus malebat.*

14 *voluntatem:* cf. 93, l. 3.

15 *vanam:* here = 'false'; so κενός.

testimonium laudum suarum: 'evidence of their own merits'; so Arch. 31 *aeternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur.* For *laus*, meaning not praise but that which deserves it, cf. Verg. Aen. 5, 355 *primam merui qui laude coronam.*

nulla est: cf. 86, l. 32 *vitam esse nullam.*

16 *verum audire non volt:* cf. 90, ll. 11, 12.

18 *essent:* the subject of this verb is unexpressed = *ei quibus parasiti assentantur.*

milites gloriosi: like the well-known *miles gloriosus* of Plautus and Thraso in Terence's Eunuchus, from which the line that follows is taken (3, 1, 1 or l. 391). Thraso has sent by his parasite Gnatho a present to Thais, and is listening to Gnatho's report of the manner in which she received the present.

20 *magnas agere:* the line in Terence is really not in the form of a question but of an exclamation: 'to think that, *etc.*' The remark of Gnatho is therefore not the answer to a question, as Cicero supposes, but is a correction of the word *magnas:* 'great? you ought to have said enormous'.

23 *volt esse:* n. on 29, l. 30.

§ 99.

24 *adlectant:* 'court it'.

26 *animadvertant:* n. on 8, l. 21.

29 *nec facillime:* euphemistic for *difficillime;* so De Or. 1, 115 *non optimi;* ib. 2, 7 *non doctissimum.*

30 *litigare se simulans:* 'pretending that he has a quarrel'.

31 *det manus:* 'gives in'; from the signal used in asking for quarter on the field of battle. Sometimes *tollere manus* (ἀνασείειν τὰς χεῖρας) is used for *dare manus.* Seyffert quotes Att. 2, 22, 2 *aiebat illum primo sane diu multa contra, ad extremum autem manus dedisse et affirmasse nihil se contra eius voluntatem esse facturum;* Caes. B. G. 5, 31, 3 *res disputatione ad mediam noctem perducitur. Tandem dat Cotta permotus manus: superat sententia Sabini.*

32 *plus vidisse:* 'to have been more farsighted'. Cicero often uses (especially in the letters) this and similar phrases, as *nihil, multum, plurimum, parum, tantum videre* (sometimes *sapere*). Cf. Phil. 2, 39 *cum me vidisse plus fateretur.*

quid turpius: for omission of *est*, cf. n. on 22, l. 20 *quid dulcius.*

P. 59.

1 *ut ne:* n. on 42, l. 26.

magis: 'all the more', *i.e.* because *illudi* is *turpe.*

2 *ut:* for this use see Roby § 1708. The mode of expression is really elliptic = *num credibile est ut* so that the subjunctive is like that after *ut* in 14, l. 32 where see n.

comicos senes: 'old men in comedy.' For *comicos stultos* cf. n. on 30, p. 38, l. 8 *multae et magnae.* Cf. Cato m. 36 *quos ait Caecilius comicos stultos senes, hos significat credulos.* The lines therefore are by *Caecilius Statius* (about B.C. 219—166).

3 *versaris:* 'have turned round your finger'.

illusseris: in Latin down to Cicero's time *ss* was often written after a long vowel. Quint. 1, 7, 20 instances *caussa, cassus, divissiones.*

lautissime: 'most richly'; cf. our expression 'a rich joke'.

§ 100.

4 *in fabulis...senum:* in nearly every Latin comedy there is a young man who, by the aid of a clever slave, cheats his father out of a sum of money.

persona: n. on 4, l. 14.

6 *perfectorum hominum:* cf. *perfecta amicitia* in 22, l. 32. See n. on *perfectus vir* (not *homo*) in 72, l. 3.

7 *sapientia:* cf. closely §§ 18, 38.

in hominem cadere: 'to fall within a man's province'; cf. 48, l. 13, also Tusc. 5, 28 *quos dicam bonos perspicuum est; omnibus enim virtutibus instructos et ornatos tum sapientis tum viros bonos dicimus.*

8 *levis:=volgaris* in 76, p. 51, l. 33; cf. also *communibus* in 77, l. 11.

defluxit: n. on 76, p. 51, l. 33 *delabitur.*

11 *conciliat...conservat:* so 20, p. 34, l. 10 *virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet.*

convenientia rerum: 'harmony in all things'=*consensio omnium rerum* in 20, p. 34, l. 2.

12 *stabilitas...constantia:* see 62, p. 47, l. 31; 65, p. 48, l. 26.

quae: virtus, not *constantia.*

13 *lumen:* so in 27, p. 37, l. 8 *lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis.*

agnovit in alio: see 48, l. 28 sq.

14 *admovet:* so 32, l. 21 *applicant sese et propius admovent;* cf. 48, l. 28.

15 *amor...amicitia:* cf. 26, l. 25. Aristotle distinguishes φίλησις and φιλία (Eth. Nic. 8, 5, 5 and elsewhere) but his φιλία includes both *amicitia* and *amor,* his φίλησις being that lower degree of affection which may be felt for the brute creation or for things inanimate.

16 *dictum est:* Lahmeyer has *ductum est,* but Cicero in mentioning a *thing* would say it was *named* from some circumstance, but in mentioning its *name* would say that the name is *drawn* or *derived* from some circumstance.

17 *nulla indigentia:* this is shewn in §§ 26, 27, 29, 46.

18 *quaesita:* this goes only with *utilitate:* 'owing to no poverty, seeking no advantage'.

ipsa ecflorescit: this is stated repeatedly elsewhere in the dialogue; cf. §§ 30—32, 51.

ecflorescit: 'blossoms forth'; a favourite metaphor with Cicero, as in De Or. 1, 20 *ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio;* also ib. 2, 319; Fin. 1, 69. The form of the preposition *ec* for *ex* is well attested in compounds both by MSS and inscriptions. It was probably somewhat old-fashioned in Cicero's time.

§ 101.

20 *Paulum:* n. on 21, l. 14; *Catonem:* the old censor; *Gallum:* n. on 21, l. 15; *P. Nasicam:* surnamed *Corculum*, and father of Nasica Serapio mentioned in § 41. This Nasica was son-in-law of the elder Africanus; was consul in 162 and 155, censor in 159.

21 *Ti. Gracchum:* father of the tribunes; also son-in-law of the elder Africanus; father-in-law of the younger Africanus; as praetor won victories over the Celtiberi in 179; was consul in 177 and conquered Sardinia; censor in 169. Cicero often contrasts him with his sons, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter.

22 *Scipionem etc.:* see Introd. pp. 17 sq.

24 *in caritate acquiescimus:* so 22, l. 19 *vita quae non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescit.* Note *adulescentium*, *Tuberonis* but *vestra* not *vestri*, and cf. 57, l. 6 n.

Q. Tuberonis: n. on 37, p. 40, l. 1.

25 *adulescentis:* for the singular cf. below, l. 32 *caritate benevolentiaque sublata;* also *adesset* in 14, l. 24.

P. Rutili: this P. Rutilius Rufus was a pupil of Panaetius (Off. 3, 10; Brut. 114, 116, 118) and studied law under P. Mucius Scaevola the consul of 133 B.C. He served as military tribune under Scipio before Numantia, and as *legatus* under Metellus Numidicus in the war against Iugurtha (Sall. Iug. 50). In 105 he was consul; in 100 was among the opponents of Saturninus; in the same year accompanied Q. Mucius Scaevola (*pontifex*) to Asia, which he governed himself for some time after Scaevola's departure. The severe integrity and purity of his government gave offence to the *publicani*, and on his return to Rome he was unjustly arraigned for extortion and condemned, whereupon he went into exile at Smyrna, from which he declined to return, though Sulla offered to reinstate him (pro Balbo § 28). Cicero De Or. 1, 229 calls him *exemplum innocentiae quo nemo neque integrior fuerit in civitate neque sanctior;* Vell. Pat. 2, 13, 2 *vir non saeculi sui sed omnis aevi optimus.*

26 *A. Vergini:* mentioned by Pomponius Dig. 1, 2, 40 (along with Rutilius), as being a good lawyer. Nothing else is known of him.

quoniamque etc.: 'and since the plan of human life and the human constitution has been so ordained that a new generation is ever springing into existence'.

29 *carceribus...calcem:* metaphors from the chariot-race are exceedingly common. *Carceres* are properly the enclosures in which the chariots are kept while awaiting the start. *Calx* was a chalked line marking the goal (Seneca ep. 108, 32 *hanc quam nunc in circo cretam vocamus,*

calcem antiqua dicebant); it is the *linea* of Horace in '*mors ultima linea rerum est*' (Greek γραμμή). With our passage cf. Cat. m. 83 *nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari.*

30 *ut dicitur:* as above 97, p. 58, l. 3; cf. n. on 19, l. 15.

§ 102.

res humanae: 'human possessions'; cf. 17, p. 32, l. 33 *ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis.*

fragiles caducaeque: 20, p. 34, l. 7 *caduca et incerta.*

32 *sublata:* for the singular cf. *adulescentis* in l. 25, also n. on 14, l. 24.

P. 60.

1 *omnis...iucunditas:* cf. 47, p. 43, l. 1 *solem e mundo tollere videntur qui amicitiam e vita tollunt.*

mihi: 'for me', 'in my view'; cf. *sibi* in 11, l. 21.

2 *vivit...vivet:* cf. § 13.

4 *in manibus habui:* 'had at hand'. A somewhat different use from that in 96, l. 20. Cf. Caes. B. G. 2, 19, 7 *incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et iam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur.*

5 *nemo etc.:* 'no one will either purpose or hope to undertake (literally no one will undertake in thought or in hope) tasks more than ordinarily great without thinking that he must ever keep before him a remembrance and a vivid impression of that illustrious man'.

§ 103.

8 *fortuna aut natura:* the distinction between good things given by fortune and good things given by nature is involved in §§ 20, 22.

9 *de re publica:* but in 20, p. 34, l. 2 *consensio* is followed by the genitive instead of the ablative with *de.* So here *rerum consilium* = *de rebus.*

11 *plena:* Cic. generally uses *plenus* with the genitive, not the ablative.

numquam...ne quidem: cf. n. on 48, l. 25 *non plus.*

12 *quod quidem senserim:* an instance of the subjunctive used to express a limitation or restriction. See Roby § 1692; also cf. 11, l. 18.

13 *idem victus:* 'the same style of living, which indeed we had in common'. For *isque* cf. n. on 7, l. 11.

14 *militia:* with this whole passage cf. 15, l. 7 *Scipione quocum mihi coniuncta cura de re publica et de privata fuit et militia communis.*

peregrinationes: we hear much of Scipio's travels (Rep. 3, 48; 6, 11; Acad. 2, 5) but it is only here mentioned that Laelius accompanied him.

15 *rusticationes:* cf. De Or. 2, 22 *Laelium semper fere cum Scipione solitum rusticari eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos cum rus ex urbe tamquam e vinclis evolavissent.*

§ 104.

nam: n. on 45, l, 17.

de studiis etc.: 'about our devotion to the constant acquisition of knowledge and instruction'. For *cognoscendi aliquid* cf. n. on 5, l. 21. In 86, l. 30 *cognitio* and *doctrina* come together as *cognoscendi* and *discendi* do here.

18 *recordatio et memoria:* these two words thus frequently come together, as in Tusc. 5, 88; Brut. 9; De Or. 1, 228; Tac. dial. 1 and in De Or. 1, 4 even *memoriae recordatio.* *Memoria* indicates the fact that a past event is present to the mind; *recordatio* properly means the *process* of summoning back past impressions; *cogitatio* is substituted for it below, l. 21 *cogitatione et memoria.*

occidisset: the singular verb as in 14, l. 24 *adesset.*

20 *possem:* the imperfect gives the sense 'I should not *now* be able'.

nec...et: see n. on 75, l. 22.

aluntur que potius: the *que* is corrective as in the common phrase *potiusque*, 'or rather'. For *aluntur*, 'are strengthened', cf. De Or. 2, 123 *si hunc oratorem quem nunc fingo, ut institui, creaio, aluero, confirmaro;* Tusc. 1, 4 *honos alit artis:* Vell. Pat. 1, 18, 6 *alit aemulatio ingenia.*

22 *etiam...affert:* for the indicative in the apodosis, though the subjunctive is in the protasis, cf. n. on 29, l. 21.

aetas ipsa: 'the mere lapse of time'; cf. 19, l. 25 *natura ipsa.*

24 *brevia tolerabilia:* cf. the maxim of Epicurus, Fin. 1, 40 *dolor in longinquitate levis, in gravitate brevis;* ib. 2, 94 *magnum dolorem brevem, longinquum levem.*

26 *haec habui etc.:* so Cicero makes Cato conclude in the Cato m. 85 *haec habui de senectute quae dicerem.*

hortor: cf. 17, p. 32, l. 33 *ego vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis.*

27 *ita locetis:* cf. 40, l. 8 *eo loco locati.*

APPENDIX ON THE TEXT.

[Remarks relating to readings, punctuation or orthography will be found in the explanatory notes on the following passages:

2, l. 19 *querella*; 2, l. 21 *Gaio*; 6, l. 33 *L. Acilium*; 9, l. 26 *maestitia*; 10, l. 12 *solacio*; 11, l. 20 *adulescens*; 11, l. 21 *factus consul*; 11, l. 32 *etiam nunc*; 14, l. 24 *adesset*; 20, l. 6 *beluarum*; 24, l. 31 *indicarent*; 26, l. 13 *iustitia*; 31, l. 11 *faeneramur*; 34, l. 11 *condicio*; 35, l. 20 *quod*; 41, l. 18 *deinde*; 42, l. 26 *alligatos*; 42, l. 27 *in magna re publica*; 44, l. 10 *verum*; 48, l. 27 *si quasi*; 52, l. 30 *pro*; 52, p. 45, l. 1 *nimirum*; 54, l. 19 *sperni*; 57, l. 6 *nostra causa*; 59, l. 29 *esset*; 64, l. 22 *aut si...aut*; 65, l. 29 *isdem*; 70, l. 13 *ignorationem*; 73, l. 5 *perducere*; 74, l. 11 *habere*; 88, l. 27 *subeunda*; 89, p. 56, l. 5 *habenda*; 97, l. 31 *contione*; 99, p. 59, l. 3 *illusseris*; 100, l. 16 *dictum est*; 100, l. 18 *ecflorescit*.]

In 1861 Halm published (in Vol. IV of the revision of Orelli's edition of Cicero's works, continued by Baiter and Halm) a text of the *Laelius* based on a collation of the readings of six MSS. Much the best of these is the *codex Gudianus*, now at Wolfenbüttel, written in the Xth century. This Halm marks G. Since his edition appeared two other MSS of equal—some would say of superior—authority have come to light, both of which were used by Baiter in revising the *Laelius* for the edition of Cicero's works brought out by himself and Kayser in 1863 and 1864. One of these two MSS is in a private library at Paris, and was first described by Th. Mommsen in the Rheinisches Museum, 1863, p. 594 sq. It belongs to the end of the IXth or beginning of the Xth century, and is commonly known as *Codex Parisinus*, and denoted by P. There are two lacunae, one after the word *magnus* in § 75 to the word *etiam* in § 78; the other from *peccasse* in § 90 to *de Scipione* in § 96. The other MS is at Munich. It also belongs to the Xth century, and is known as *codex Monacensis*, being denoted by M. It has lost the part containing the first ten chapters.

Unfortunately, the information at hand concerning P and M is far from sufficient to enable us to determine their real value. We possess only an incomplete collation of P by Mommsen, which leaves the readings of many important passages in doubt. An overwhelming authority

is assigned to this MS by Baiter, Lahmeyer and others. My judgment upon the existing evidence is that their estimate is exaggerated. P has peculiar errors of its own, and there is a most singular agreement in many places between it and Halm's D ('*codex Vindobonensis saec.* XV') which any one who reads Halm's critical notes will see to be so grossly corrupt as to be practically worthless.

Of M we have still less information,—nothing indeed beyond the readings Baiter gives from a collation by Karl Halm. While I have carefully weighed the MSS evidence on every point, even the minutest, the general result has been that when any two of these three MSS, viz. M G P, are agreed, I have adopted the reading, while I have seldom found it necessary to take a reading given by any one of them, when unsupported by other evidence. Very rarely have I had to depart from the *consensus* of the three. These three MSS give an unusually sound basis for the text of the *Laelius*.

Baiter's text is denoted by B, Halm's by H, Lahmeyer's by L (I have used the third edition), Nauck's by N (seventh edition). The readings I have selected here for comment are chiefly those which illustrate points of grammar, syntax, or orthography.

§ 2.

l. 14. *fere multis:* some scholars have wished to strike out *multis* as a gloss. Cic. certainly would not qualify *multis* by the addition of *fere*, but *fere* is to be taken with *tum*, not with *multis*. The writer of one of Halm's MSS (D) felt the difficulty, and changed *multis* into *omnibus*.

l. 15. *utebare:* some MSS have *utebaris*, but although in the second person singular of the present indicative deponent and passive Cicero commonly uses the form in *-ris*, he oftener has the form in *-re* in the second person singular of the imperfect (indicative and subjunctive) and of the future passive.

l. 19. *querella:* so B but H L N *querela;* P has *quaerella* (Mommsen p. 596) but in § 35 *querela;* see n. [C. F. W. Muller follows P in both places.]

§ 3.

l. 20. *Laeli:* I have everywhere written single *i* in the genitives of nouns whose nominatives end in *ius*, *ium*, from a conviction that Cicero so wrote. See a good deal of the evidence in Neue, Formenlehre, I, 85—94, ed. 2. [C. F. W. Muller writes *-i* throughout.]

§ 4.

l. 11. *ceterum:* so rightly spelt: it is high time the spelling *caeterum* were banished from modern texts, with *coelum* and other like enormities.

§ 5.

l. 28. *te ipse:* so P L N; but H B with G and some inferior MSS have *te ipsum*. Phrases like *te ipse* are so much commoner in Cicero than those like *te ipsum*, and the former are so easily and so often corrupted into the latter, that I have followed the reading of P. (C. F. W. Muller *ipse*.]

§ 6.

l. 5. *habebat et multa:* I have inserted *et* on my own conjecture. Without it *Cato* is one of the subjects to the verb *putabatur;* with it, is subject to the verb *habebat* below, *propterea* repeating *quia*, owing to the length of the sentence. With the old reading a long stop was needed after *habebat*, another after *ferebantur*, and the transitions were most awkward.

§ 7.

l. 8. *volgus:* so B, but H L N *vulgus*. It is almost certain that Cicero wrote *volgus*, *volt* and the like.

l. 9. *Graecia reliqua:* so H with G and other MSS; B L N *reliqua Graecia* with P D only.

l. 18. *affuisti:* so L N rightly (the Latins objected to *df*, *bf*) but H B *adfuisti*.

§ 9.

l. 3. *Gallum:* all the MSS here have *Gaium;* so in 21, l. 14 *Gaius*, but in 101, l. 20 *gallum*. Since *Galus* is occasionally found for *Gallus*, Mommsen and after him B L N write the name with one *l* in all three places.

§ 10.

l. 7. *vestrum:* omitted by B L N with P D only.

§ 11.

l. 21. *consul:* bracketed by B H L, though in all MSS. Cf. however my n. On this principle many other words in the dialogue would have to be bracketed or ejected; *e.g. sapientem* in 7, l. 8; *sapientes* in 18, l. 12.

l. 27. *omnis:* I have written everywhere *i* not *e* in the accusative plural masc. and fem. of nouns whose genitive plural ends in *-ium*. Though Cicero's usage may have varied, he probably wrote the *-i* in the vast majority of instances.

§ 12.

l. 32. *etiam nunc:* H commends without adopting the conjecture of Victorius, *tunc*. See, however, my n.

§ 13.

l. 18. *qui:* Putsche in *Philologus* XII, p. 300 proposes *cui* after Gulielmius, which is adopted by H B L, B also taking a suggestion of H to change *ut in* to *uti* (*utei*). It is inexplicable to me why all these scholars should substitute by conjecture the very rare (if not unparalleled) ellipse of *videbatur* for the very common ellipse of the *verbum dicendi*. They should at least have gone on to insert *videbatur* after *semper*, as Kayser suggested. [C. F. W. M. marks *qui* as corrupt.]

§ 16.

l. 21. *quaeruntur:* B L *quaeritur* with P only. [C. F. W. M. *quaeruntur.*]

l. 23. *mihi vero erit gratum:* H B omit *erit gratum* (after Beier) though the words are in all MSS. The omission is groundless, though the elliptic answer *mihi vero* would be Ciceronian enough; cf. Acad. 1, 14; Off. 3, 35. [C. F. W. M. keeps *erit gratum.*]

l. 24. *antevertit:* edd. *antevortit*, a form which was distinctly archaic in Cicero's time, and used by Sallust on that ground.

§ 20.

l. 33. *duos:* L N *duo* with P only. I believe, however, that the weight of MSS evidence is in favour of *duos* as the Ciceronian form; inscriptions certainly point that way.

l. 3. *nil unquam:* five out of Halm's six MSS (including G) have *quicquam* only; the sixth has *nihil* only; so has P. *Nil* is wanted (see my n.), but the variants are best explained by supposing that Cicero wrote *nil unquam.*

§ 21.

l. 12. *nostrae:* B L N omit with P D only.

§ 22.

l. 30. *itaque non aqua etc.:* Brieger, Beiträge zur Kritik einiger philosophischer Schriften des Cicero, Posen 1873, p. 7 proposes sweeping transpositions and other changes affecting this and the three succeeding sentences, on the very insufficient ground that the proverb applies to all friendships whereas Cicero professes to be speaking of perfect friendship.

pluribus locis: so H with G; B L N *locis pluribus* with P. Cf. 47, p. 43, l. 4 *multis locis.*

§ 23.

l. 13. *ne aegri quidem:* all MSS have *nec*, but *nec quidem* is a phrase not used by good writers; cf. n. on 30, p. 38, l. 4.

l. 15. *percipi:* so all MSS, and the word makes very good sense, *percipere* being very commonly used by Cicero with the meaning 'to grasp' or 'to understand'. B L however follow Madvig (Opusc.

2, 279) in reading *perspici*, for which cf. 29, l. 23. H approves Madvig's reading without adopting it. C. F. W. M. *perspici*; cf. however Hor. A. P. 335 *dicta percipiant animi*; Ter. Eun. 972 *odium me percipit*; Lucr. 3, 80.

§ 24.

l. 1. *si quae:* judging from the MSS evidence (some of which is in Neue 2, 233, 234, ed. 2) Cicero most probably wrote *si quae* and the like, not *si qua* and the like, both in the feminine singular and in the neutral plural.

§ 25.

l. 12. *quid? amicitiam:* edd. *quid amicitiam? i.e. quid fuit amicitiam defendere?* To avoid awkwardness, I have shifted the note of interrogation. For the form of expression cf. Acad. 2, 86 *quid? hoc nonne videtur contra te valere?* ib. 2, 81 *quid? talpam num desiderare lumen putas?* De fato 10 *quid? Socraten nonne etc.?* Examples might be multiplied to any extent. [C. F. W. M. has independently adopted the same punctuation.]

§ 26.

l. 22. *quod quisque:* all MSS have *quo*; all *quisque* except P which has *quis*; L N accordingly write *quod quis*.

§ 32.

l. 13. *ab his:* so all MSS; H *at ii*.

l. 22. *sintque:* so all MSS; H B L however (after Beier) *suntque*, also *est* for *sit*.

l. 24. *concertatio:* so G: H B L N *certatio* with P. On this passage Mr Shilleto (in MS note) compares Tac. Ann. 3, 55 *nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit. Verum haec nos: nobis maiores: certamina ex honesto maneant.*

§ 33.

l. 9. *deponerentur:* B L N *ponerentur* with P only.

§ 36.

l. 32. *Vecellinum:* H *Viscellinum*, but Mommsen on p. 598 discusses the name and arrives at this form.

§ 38.

l. 20. *si simus:* all Halm's MSS have *sumus si*, except E (*codex Erfurtensis*) which has *simus si*; so has P, and this reading (adopted by N) may very likely be right—'We should indeed be men of perfect wisdom, did the arrangement prove not to be faulty'. One point in favour of *simus si* is that when there is one apodosis with two protases, Cicero in the majority of instances places the apodosis *between* the protases. [C. F. W. M. *si simus*.]

l. 22. *memoriam:* P *memoria*, approved by Mommsen and adopted by L N.

§ 40.

l. 10. *aliquantum:* L with P only, on the ground that *aliquantulum* is foreign to Classical prose. It is now ejected from Div. 1, 73 where the inferior MSS alone have it, but there is still some evidence for it in De inv. 2, 29; Pro Quint. 15; (Cornificius) Ad Herenn. 4, 14.

§ 41.

l. 14. *in P. Scipione:* four of Halm's MSS (including G) have *in p nasicam Scipionem*, the remaining two *in scipionem*; P has *in scipione*. It is not at all improbable that Cicero wrote *in P. Nasica Scipione*, or *P. Nasica* merely (as in Phil. 8, 13).

l. 18. *proclivis:* G H B *proclivius*; P L N *proclivis* (also four of Halm's MSS). Cf. 84, l. 11 where three MSS have *gravius* for *gravis*. It has often been proposed to read *proclivi*, the adverb. (Cf. Tusc. 4, 42.)

§ 42.

l. 27. *re publica:* all MSS have the common abbreviation *re p.:* B H thinking the *p* has come from the following *p* in *peccantibus* strike out *publica*, but the whole context shews them to be wrong.

§ 44.

l. 13. *verum:* so MSS; edd. *vero;* cf. however my explanatory n.

§ 48.

l. 27. *contrahat amicitiam:* qy *contrahatur amicitia?*

l. 29. *contigit:* so B L with all the best MSS. H *contingit*.

§ 49.

l. 32. *animante:* so B L with M P D; H *animo autem* with G.

§ 50.

l. 4. *et tam trahat:* so MSS; H B L N *et attrahat*, needlessly.

§ 55.

l. 24. *laborant:* so I have written with all MSS; edd. *laborent*. I think *laborant* is used in its very common Ciceronian sense = *solliciti sunt*—'nor do they trouble themselves as to the person for whom *etc.*'.

§ 56.

l. 3. *facit.* so MSS.; edd. *faciat*, to suit 59, l. 21.

§ 57.

l. 6. *nostra:* so M P rightly; see my n. Halm's six MSS give *nostri.*

§ 59.

l. 25. *inducatque spem:* so I have written with the MSS; see my n. H B L *inducatque in spem;* N follows the MSS.

§ 63.

l. 3. *temptatis:* G M P agree in *tempestatis*, a striking testimony in favour of the spelling *temptatis* against *tentatis.*

amicitia ex: so I have emended the reading of G M P *amicitias* which has arisen from *ex* having been written *es* (so *estra* often for *extra*). H has *amicitiis* with D; B N *amicitia* only, with two inferior MSS; L *amicitia ipsa.* [C. F. W. M. *amicitia ex* independently.]

§ 65.

l. 27. *quem:* MSS *quam*, with which reading *fides* comes in at the end of the sentence in a lumping and altogether un-Ciceronian fashion.

§ 69.

l. 7. *posse esse:* so MSS; many edd. om. *posse.*

§ 70.

l. 11. *imbecilliore:* so MSS; edd. mostly *imbecilliores* [not C. F. W. M.]

§ 72.

p. 51, l. 1. *opera:* MSS and edd. *opere;* but Cicero would say *levare aliquem opera* (*nostra*), not *opere.* Cf. 51, ll. 24, 25 *si numquam opera nostra Scipio eguisset.*

§ 74.

l. 14. *aestimandi:* this is Mommsen's emendation; the MSS have merely *est;* edd. generally mark a lacuna. [Qy. read *est amicus?*]

§ 75.

l. 23. *Lycomeden:* MSS and edd. *Lycomedem*, which Cicero cannot have written, as he constantly uses *en* not *em* in the accusative singular of Greek proper names in *es.* See Neue 1, pp. 56—58 ed. 2.

§ 77.

l. 17. *graviter ac moderate:* so I have corrected the MSS *graviter auctoritate;* L *graviter ac temperate;* H merely brackets *auctoritate* as a marginal gloss introduced into the text.

§ 91.

l. 26. *voluptatem:* so MSS; edd. *voluntatem* to correspond with *voluntatem* in 93, l. 3.

§ 94.

ll. 6—8. I have placed a comma at *similes* and changed the MSS reading *horum* into *quorum*. See n. With the MSS readings the sentence is most awkwardly constructed.

§ 96.

l. 24. *cooptatio:* it is remarkable that the MSS here agree in the form *coaptatio*. Mommsen quotes *coaptato* from the *lex Iulia municipalis* (Corpus Inscr. I, p. 121, l. 86) which also has *coptato* (l. 106). Mommsen remarks '*cum o geminatam antiqui non admitterent fortasse pro ea substituerunt modo ō, modo oa, ut pro au scribitur modo ū, modo ou*'.

§ 97.

l. 31. *scena:* most curiously P D and E (*codex Erfurtensis*) agree in giving *scaena* which seems to point to the spelling *scaena*. The Latins often represented Greek η by *ae*.

ADDENDA.

p. **11.** *Greek sources of the dialogue.* Since my work first appeared (1879) I have read two pamphlets bearing on the Greek sources of the *Laelius.* The first is by Braxator, entitled '*Quid in conscribendo Ciceronis Laelio valuerint Aristotelis Ethicon Nicomachorum* (sic) *de amicitia libri*' (Halle 1871). Its object is to shew that Cicero *directly* imitated Eth. Nic. 8, 9 throughout the Laelius. Braxator points out a number of verbal resemblances between the two works, nearly all of which are quoted in my notes. But he neglects to notice the great divergence between the two treatises in subject-matter and arrangement. If Eth. Nic. 8, 9 had been the basis of the Laelius, we should have had striking correspondence in the treatment of the theme. Altogether Braxator does not much advance the problem towards a solution. His work is hasty, as a sign of which it may be stated that the pamphlet contains perhaps more misprints than were ever before crowded together in the same space.

The second essay, that of Heylbut '*De Theophrasti libris περὶ φιλίας*' (Bonn 1876), is a more careful production. Heylbut seeks to prove that Theophrastus copied Aristotle in the main, and that Cicero and Plutarch (in his writings on friendship) drew ultimately upon Theophrastus. The verbal resemblances between the Laelius and the Eth. Nic. would thus be explained. Heylbut believes that Cicero had before him only excerpts from Theophrastus contained in a work by some other author, and he suspects the same may be the case with Plutarch.

My own investigations lead me to think that the statements about friendship in the Laelius and those in De Finibus 2, 4, 5 go back to a common source, and that *possibly* Plutarch also used this source. The matter however is too intricate for argument here. If Hirzel's views of the sources of the De Finibus be correct, we shall thus be led back to Antiochus of Ascalon, the philosopher from whom Cicero drew so much elsewhere. But while many of Hirzel's arguments carry me with them, there are difficulties which for the present prevent me from giving a confident opinion.

p. **61**, n. on § 1, l. 2. *nec dubitare:* the construction of *non dubitare* with accusative and infinitive is regular in Livy; see Kühnast, Livian. Synt. p. 20. For the constructions with *dubito* in Cicero and other authors see my n. on Cato maior § 16.

n. on § 1, l. 4. *ita eram deductus etc.:* formerly I took *ita...ut* as 'with the result that...' Prof. Iwan Müller, in one of his well known able and courteous reviews in Bursian's Jahresbericht, objected that this interpretation would require *poteram...licebat.* Surely not so; dependent clauses in Latin continually follow the syntax of the principal clause. My only ground for changing my view is that the interpretation now adopted seems to suit somewhat better the whole context.

p. **62**, n. on § 1, l. 5. *a senis latere:* cf. Catul. 21, 6 *haerens ad latus* with Ellis' n.

p. **63**, n. on § 2, l. 14. *tum fere:* Prof. Iwan Müller objects to my view (which agreed with that of C. F. W. Müller in his edition of Seyffert's Laelius) on the ground that the time is *precisely* indicated in the following sentence. I fail to see why Cic. should not say that certain talk prevailed 'about' a certain time, even though he is able to define the time exactly. Iwan Müller seems to favour *omnibus* for *multis.* C. F. W. Muller now reads (in his Teubner text) *tum forte.*

p. **64**, n. on § 3, l. 2. *ne 'inquam' etc.:* cf. also Tusc. 2, 9 and Diog. Laert. 9, 111, where he contrasts the *αὐτοδιήγητος ἑρμηνεία* with that *ἐν διαλόγου σχήματι.*

p. **65**, n. on § 4, l. 7. *feci ut prodessem:* this is not quite the same as *profui;* it rather lays stress on the *exertion* which it cost Cic. to write the book.

§ 4, l. 10. *aptior quae:* Draeger, hist. synt. 2, 534 ed. 2 says that this construction can only be paralleled from Ovid, Her. 3, 70. I have been unable to find any other example. The ordinary constructions of *aptus* are the dat., or acc. with *ad* (or in poets with *in*). *Aptior* is probably substituted here for the comparative of *idoneus*, which was not in use (cf. *idonea* in l. 13).

n. on § 4, l. 10. *loqueretur:* Iwan Müller quotes for *dicere*, used with the abstract or personified subject, Fat. § 1; Cato, Orig. 5, 5 ed. Jordan; for *inquit* Cic. Leg. 2, 58; add Att. 2, 5, 1 *quid historiae de nobis praedicarint?*

p. **69**, n. on § 7, l. 13. *omnia tua etc.:* the younger Seneca has many expressions like this, as in Epist. 66, 22 *hominem habentem in se omnia;* he also mentions the saying of Stilbo, also attributed to Bias of Priene, '*omnia mea mecum porto*' (Ep. 9, 19), or '*omnia mea mecum sunt*' (Dial. 2, 5, 6). Cf. also Cic. Tusc. 5 §§ 30, 36, 42; ib. 4 §§ 57, 61.

p. **70**, n. on § 7, l. 14. *credo ex hoc item:* cf. Madvig on Fin. 2, 16.

§ 7, l. 17. *ut assolet:* differs from *ut solet*, in being used only of some fixed and stated usage or ceremonial (Madv. on Fin. 5, 1).

p. **71**, n. on § 8, l. 29. *incommodo:* cf. Tusc. 5, 36, where it is said the *sapiens* will be unmoved, '*et nascentibus et cadentibus cum reliquis commodis, tum maxime liberis*'.

p. **72**, n. on § 9, l. 3. *sed hi in pueris:* cf. Fin. 5, 62 *sed haec in pueris;* Sen. dial. 11, 3, 5 *luget Polybius, in uno fratre quid de reliquis possit metuere, admonitus.*

p. **80**, n. on § 14, l. 1. *sensu enim amisso:* the notion is Epicurean; see Lucr. 3, 830—869; Fin. 1, 49; ib. 2, 100; the words in Eur. Tro. 636, 7 are precisely similar.

p. **82**, n. on § 16, l. 19. *pergratum etc.:* for *pergratum* used as substantive, cf. Hor. Od. 3, 3, 17 *gratum elocuta;* Plaut. Most. 211 (ed. Lorenz).

p. **83**, n. on § 17, l. 32. *censeo petatis:* Iwan Müller objects to the assumption that *ut* is omitted, saying these usages come from the popular talk, where *parataxis* for *syntaxis* is beloved. But abbreviations and omissions are also beloved; and there are many verbs which take the subjunctive, sometimes with and sometimes without *ut*, to which the assumption of parataxis will not apply. My view is unchanged, but the matter would take too much space to discuss here.

p. **88**, n. on § 20, l. 31. *ex infinita etc.:* so Aristotle says (Eth. N. 9, 10, 6) αἱ ὑμνούμεναι φιλίαι ἐν δυσὶ λέγονται.

p. **94**, n. on § 26, l. 15. *vim...afferre:* cf. Plaut. Mil. 454 *vi me cogis, quisquis es:* Captiv. 750 *vis haec quidem hercle est;* Cic. Fin. 2, 16 *hoc est vim afferre sensibus.*

p. **107**, n. on § 39, l. 2. *minime...acerrimus:* of course the superlative adverb cannot qualify the superlative adjective. The MSS readings in Fam. 3, 10, 10 *ornatissimum amplissime* and Att. 12, 38, 3 *maxime liberalissima* are now rejected.

p. **111**, n. on § 44, l. 10. *verum:* Iwan Müller quotes against me a futile remark of Gernhard, that every man's advice seems to him *true*. The assumption is in itself large: but if the argument were worth anything, it would logically prevent the use of any good epithet with *consilium*. Thus it might be said that every man considers his advice *wise;* yet we have *sapiens consilium* in Ovid, Met. 13, 433 and elsewhere. Müller denies that *verum consilium* could mean *sincere* or *faithful advice*. Nothing seems to me more natural; cf. Cic. Att. 9, 7 A, (Balbus and Oppius) *quod verissimum nobis videbitur, de eo quod ad nos scripsisti, tibi consilium dabimus, quod si non fuerit prudens, at certe ab optima fide proficiscetur;* Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 16 *di te, Damasippe, deaeque verum ob consilium donent tonsore;* Curtius 6, 10, 26 *fides amicitiae, veri consilii periculosa libertas*. Similarly Verg. Aen. 1, 409 *veras audire et reddere voces*. [Allen quotes Off. 1, 52 to *illustrate*, not to *condemn* the expression *verum consilium*, as Müller thinks.]

p. **114**, n. on § 46, l. 30. *haberet:* cf. Madv. on Fin. 3, 67.

p. **117**, n. on § 50, l. 9. *bonis inter bonos:* the reading here has been recently attacked; cf. however N. D. 1, 121 *sapientes sapientibus amicos;* Off. 1, 22 *hominum inter homines societas.*

p. **122**, n. on § 56, l. 30: other exx. of the attraction: Att. 7, 17, 4; ib. 8, 12, 4; De Or. 2, 132; De Leg. 1, 4; ib. 2, 48 (where *quaeruntur* has been wrongly altered by Madvig and others); Leg. agr. 2, 102; Cn. Pomp. 34; and in the MSS of Livy 6, 14, 2, where it

is wrongly altered by Weissenborn. For *termini* cf. Ar. Eth. 9, 4, 1, *οἷς αἱ φιλίαι ὁρίζονται.*

p. **144**, n. on § 90, l. 19. *quod contra:* see Madv. Fin. 5, 76; Munro on Lucr. 1, 82.

p. **154**, Appendix on the Text. Since this edition was first issued (1879) a valuable recension of the text has appeared by C. F. W. Muller (in the series of Teubner texts). It contains much fuller information concerning the Paris MS than was given by Mommsen. On a careful consideration of all its readings, I am not inclined to allow to it a *preponderant* influence in the constitution of the text, though I admit it is of very high value*.

p. **156**, § 8, l. 20. *multum:* so PL; G *multam;* edd. generally *multi.*

p. **157**, n. on § 20. *nil unquam.* Formerly I read *nil quicquam*, but the phrase is not Ciceronian. It occurs in MSS of De Or. 1, 134, where *quisquam* is now read by edd.

p. **158**, n. on § 32, l. 24. *concertatio:* Iwan Müller objects that this word has always a bad or 'not good' sense. But the same is true of *certatio;* in either case we have *oxymoron*, similar to that in Ligar. 16 *honesto mendacio.*

p. **159**, nn. on § 41. Many corrections of the words *deinde* and *quae* have been proposed. C. F. W. M. marks the passage as corrupt.

§ 49, l. 30. *inanibus:* C. F. W. M. *inanimis* (an old em.), needlessly.

n. on § 50, l. 4. *et tam trahat:* in favour of *trahat*, cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 6, 75 *quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos?* Sen. Ep. 6, 3 *cum animos in societatem honesta cupiendi par voluntas trahit;* Rep. 6, 25 *suis te oportet illecebris ipsa virtus trahat ad verum decus.* The last passage may help to defend *illiciat*, the reading of the best MSS, rejected by C. F. W. M. Cic. has just been mentioning (§ 49) the allurements of ordinary life, and now says that even these cannot allure like similarity of character. The observation of Gernhard (quoted by Iwan Muller in his review of this edition) that *illiciat* is a *vox indigna amicitia*, is quite beside the mark. Against Brieger's omission of *ad* before *amicitiam* cf. Plin. Ep. 4, 15, 2 *cum sit ad conectendas amicitias tenacissimum vinculum morum similitudo.*

p. **160**, n. on § 65, l. 27. *quem:* the preceding and succeeding sentences, if attentively read, confirm my em. (which Iwan Muller condemns). The whole passage relates to the *ideal* friend. For *quem quaerimus* cf. Fin. 2, 37; Tusc. 4, 37; ib. 5, 42 and 110.

p. **161**, n. on § 96. *cooptatio:* unfortunately in the index to Vol. 1 of the Corp. Inscr. *coptato* is given for *coaptato* (as in the transcript of the inscription). For *coptato* cf. Lucr. 5, 342 *coperuisse* with Munro's n.

* An examination of the Paris MS which I was enabled to make by the courtesy of its present possessor (Mr Quaritch) has confirmed me in my view. Unfortunately my examination came too late for use in the present edition. I hope to publish the results of it elsewhere.

INDEX

TO THE MATTERS CONTAINED IN THE INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND APPENDIX.

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